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A

TOUR TO LONDON;
OR,
NEW OBSERVATIONS
ON
ENGLAND,
AND ITS INHABITANTS.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
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OF ANTIQUARIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

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M DCC LXXII.



THE
AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

TH E following Observations are the result of a late Tour to London* ; observations since enlarged and improved by studying the History of England in her own historians, and by combining the knowledge acquired by this study with that I gained of men and things on the spot.

A view, though transient, of the places where these events happened, could not fail of throwing upon them that light, and giving them that importance, in which not only the most essential advantage, but the principal pleasure of travelling consists †. This light is to geography, which it both enlivens, and, as it were, animates, what geography is to history. Herodotus was indebted to it for a great number

* In the Year 1765.

† Movemur enim, nescio quo pacto, iis locis in quibus eorum quos admiramur adsunt vestigia. Cic. de Leg. L. ii. init. & de finibus, L. v.

of those useful particulars we meet with in every part of his work ; where he dwells with peculiar complacency, and to the no small benefit of his reader, on those objects he had himself seen, distinguishing them carefully from those of which he had only heard.

I must not forget making my grateful acknowledgments to those English gentlemen, whose affability seconded the desire I shewed of being instructed. I have been in the company of Englishmen of all ranks, conditions, and stations ; and have experienced, in all, the same indulgence, the same complaisance, the same kindness.

But I must mention one of them by name. This was Sir James Mac Donald, Bart. equally esteemed at Versailles and St. James's ; equally beloved by the sprightly Parisians, and the thinking Londoners ; possessing, at once, the most agreeable in every art and science ; found worthy, from his earliest youth, of the friendship and confidence of one of the greatest magistrates England ever produced * ; he seemed formed to fill with lustre some of the first places in his own country, or to support, in others, the great name acquired by the Keiths, the Walls, the Mahonis, &c. But a premature death, at the age of twenty-

* Lord Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor.

four, put an end to all those hopes, which the possession of every natural embellishment and acquired accomplishment gave him a right to form.

Happily for me, London enjoyed him during my stay there, and I spent most of my mornings with him; almost entirely in questions on my part, and answers on his; answers, which left me no room to wish for farther information, with regard to past or present events; and their several causes, whether occasional or final.

Considering the nature of these helps, provided always I have made the good use of them I intended, my trip to London must by no means be ranked amongst those journeys, which a roving disposition, anxiety, or spleen, make some people undertake; or those excursions which others submit to perform on the same account they would swallow a dose of physic; that is, for the sake of their health; with aversion, and yet with a seeming greediness proportionable to it.

I relate things as I have seen them*: I deliver my reflections just as I conceived them, simply, ingenuously, frankly, without pretending, in quality of author, to have seen more, or with better eyes, than those who have written before

* "If not according to the measure of the things themselves, at least according to that of my own eyes." Montaigne, speaking of himself, l. ii. c. 10.

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me, or may happen to write after me on the same subject.

To conclude, What I say, I say it, though a Frenchman, in a spirit quite free from all national antipathy, on the one hand ; and, on the other, equally void of that enthusiasm, which can see nothing good, nothing beautiful, nothing great, but under a British sky : “ *Soleo et in alia castra transire, non ut transfuga, sed tamquam explorator* *.”

* Seneca, Epist. ii.

THE

T H E TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

TH E following Work was written by the ingenious and learned Mons. Grosley, author of *The New Observations on ITALY and its Inhabitants*. Not satisfied with visiting, in the true spirit of a philosopher, that renowned seat of the Muses, he was soon after prompted, by his insatiable thirst after knowledge, to come over to *England*, in order to make farther discoveries, in this *mercatura bonarum artium*; which furnished him with materials for the present performance. The circumstance of our having translated the first of these works, induced the author to desire we should likewise undertake a translation of the second; a request which we the more readily complied with, on account of the peculiar merit of the original.

It may be said in general, that it contains a great fund of erudition, displayed in apposite quotations, and ingenious applications of Latin and Italian passages of the best writers, intermixed with happy turns of thought, and original strokes of humour: its chief excellence, however, must be allowed to consist in a profound knowledge of history and jurisprudence, joined to that of the ancient usages and customs of

France

France and England. His characters are well drawn, his observations solid and judicious, and his anecdotes entertaining. But what must particularly recommend him to the English reader, is the impartial eye with which, contrary to the too general practice of French writers, he views and contemplates the laws and customs of this nation; frequently contrasting the prudence of our institutions, with the several abuses which prevail in his own country.

It may, notwithstanding, be said, that a cursory view of this kingdom could scarcely qualify him for an investigation of the several subjects which fell under his pen. He must sometimes have had false intelligence, and frequently misunderstood that which was true concerning the detail of particular facts, which, though not in themselves very interesting, are yet apt, when misrepresented, to expose a learned writer to censure. Hence it is that he has been animadverted upon by the authors of the Journal Encyclopedique, who charge him with the want of accuracy in some particulars, concerning which it would not have been difficult for him to obtain better information. The author, like a true philosopher, whose sole aim is truth, pleads guilty to the charge, and has retracted a few mistakes, especially that relating to the celebrated Mr. Garrick, of which the reader will find an account in the appendix. We have therefore taken more liberty with this work than is usual for translators; but then, to obviate the charge of presumption against ourselves, as well as to do justice to Mons. Grosley's impartiality, we must acquaint the reader, that this liberty was taken, not only by his approbation and consent, but at his particular request. Yet

so numerous are the subjects which he treats of, that perhaps with all our diligence we must still have recourse to the old apology, *Humanum est errare*. In alleviation of any mistake that may have escaped our notice, we may still safely affirm, that the present performance contains a greater number of useful observations, and fewer strokes of national rancour and antipathy, than the writings of Sorbiere, Muralt, Le Blanc, and other French travellers, who, instead of favouring the public with impartial remarks, have generally indulged their spleen in writing invectives and poignant satires on the English.

We cannot better conclude this Preface, than by giving the reader some account of the Author.

Peter-John Grosley was born at Troyes, the capital of Champagne, in 1718. He is an Advocate by profession, has been some time enrolled in the Royal Academies of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and is also a member of our Royal Society. His literary abilities have been displayed in a variety of ingenious performances, particularly the following. "Memoirs relating to the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Diocese of Troyes." "A Discourse concerning the Influence of Manners on Customs." "Researches illustrating the History of the French Law." "Memoirs on the Uterine Nobility of Champagne." "Lives of the Brothers of the Name of Pithou." "Inquiry into the Conspiracy of Venice." "New Observations on Italy and its Inhabitants, by two Swedish gentlemen." "The Ephemerides of Troyes continued from 1757." He has also been concerned in the Memoirs of the Academy of Troyes, and in the last French translation of Davila. But what, next to the impartiality with which Mons. Grosley has viewed

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other countries, does him most honour, is his fondness for his own. Not content with adding so much to its fame, by the noble use he has made of his own talents, he has taken the most judicious method to celebrate those of his countrymen ; a method which at the same time that it keeps their memories alive, powerfully tends to make their examples useful. He has undertaken to embellish the saloon of the town-house of Troyes, with the marble busts of the illustrious natives of that city, executed by Mons. Vasse, the king's sculptor ; who has already finished those of P. Pithou, P. le Comte, Passerat, Girardon, and Mignard.

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O B S E R V A T I O N S

ON

E N G L A N D.

WHEN I set out from Paris, I took the road to Calais. I had hopes of seeing that town: the tragedy, whose subject it furnished, was then in the zenith of its glory. To be within sight of Calais without visiting so noted a place, would have been a neglect, which no Parisian would have excused; and we should endeavour to humour our friends in their innocent whims and fancies.

Though I was firmly resolved not to neglect this opportunity, some very worthy people of Boulogne, to whom I was recommended, laid an embargo upon my equipage and upon my person: these charged themselves with my passage to England. I stayed a few days with them to wait till the tempestuous March weather had somewhat subsided.

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I made use of the opportunity of my stay to take a view of the city of Boulogne and its port, which my hosts maintained to be the Portus Iccius of Cæsar.

In support of this their assertion they alledge three authorities, of the greater seeming weight, as they are unconnected with any domestic interest; I mean those of Cluverius, Bergier, and the learned Joseph Scaliger *.

The present port of Boulogne is formed by the mouth of a little river, which running from South to West offers a place of shelter and security under the hills which border its left side. The loftiest of these hills at once commands the port and the coast. There are to be seen there the remains of a fort, which the inhabitants of that country call *le Castillon*. As you pass the port, this hill forms a natural mole, which breaks the waves driven on it by the South wind: on the right, the coast is defended against the North-winds by a bank, which runs westward about two hundred paces into the sea. Upon the ridge of this bank are to be seen the remains of a tower, raised by Caligula, to serve as a light-house and a place of defence to the harbour, the ancient impor-

* He expresses himself thus, in his notes upon Cæsar's Commentaries: *Delirant qui Iccium Portum aliud volunt esse à navalii Bononiensi: multa ad-versus eorum pertinaciam objici possunt. Qui Iccium Portum Calais esse putant, à Ptolomeo refelluntur, qui prius ponit Iccium, inde Gessoriacum à quo Calais distat plusquam 20 mill. pass. hec est leuis Belgicis septem.* " Those talk idly who maintain the Portus Iccius to be any thing different from the port of Boulogne: " much may be said to refute what they assert thus obstinately. " Those who take the Portus Iccius to be Calais are refuted by " Ptolemy, who places Iccius first, then Gessoriacum, from which " Calais is distant above twenty thousand paces, that is, seven " Belgic leagues." In a memorial inserted in the xxviiith vol. of the Academy of Belles Lettres, M. Danville places the Portus Iccius at Wiffend. Measures taken with the utmost exactness, and calculations suited to those measures, are the basis of this memorial, in which the learned geographer considers as a standing pool the arm of the sea, which separates the Boulognois from England.

tance of which is evident from the manner in which it is built *. A quarry injudiciously opened under the foundations of this tower, laid them open to the influx of the waves, which, by sapping them imperceptibly, at last overthrew the edifice: part of the building has rolled down into the sea in enormous pieces, which neither the air nor the water, to the action of which they have been successively exposed, have been able to wear away.

Formerly the port reached about a league up in the country, where it extended itself in different windings. There is still to be seen upon one of these windings, which is at present filled up, and crossed by the king's high road, a chapel to which in the tenth or eleventh century was brought a picture of our lady, which the inhabitants received with great fervour; and this has been amply recompensed by the money incessantly arising from the devotion of the sailors to this image.

In 1478, Lewis the XIth consecrated to this image of our lady the county of Boulogne in full sovereignty, after having dismembered it from the county of Artois. He thereby delivered the kings his successors from the disagreeable necessity of holding this county of a foreign power or an enemy, in case the county of Artois, upon which that of Boulogne depended, should happen to be dismembered from the crown of France.

The land that lay behind the port is occupied by a village, which as well as its territory goes by the

* This was called *Tour d'Ordre*, and perhaps originally *Tour d'Ardre*, on account of the lanthorn at the top of it. In 1545 it made a part of the fortifications of the town of Boulogne, and Henry the VIIIth availed himself of it against the efforts made by the French to disturb him in his new conquest. See the last book of the Mem. of Langey.

name of Ixe. The inhabitants of Boulogne add this denomination to the authorities, upon which they found the identity of their port with the Portus Iccius of Cæsar. From hence would arise a complete demonstration, if the name of Ixe, which I have not been able to discover, had not been given to this village since the time that different ports of Picardy have disputed with each other the honour of being the Portus Iccius of the ancients.

The inhabitants of Boulogne maintain likewise, that under the Romans, and till the time of the English being established at that town, the mouth of their port was under the *Castillon*, and that the sea then entering it directly, the current, which was the more strong on account of that situation, hurried along with it all the sand that was left by the river.

The English having possessed themselves of Boulogne, were not able to add Castillon to their conquest: that fort and the whole territory on the left side of the port continued subject to France. The English, that they might be masters in their part of the town, filled up the ancient mouth, and opened a new one, the disadvantageous position of which has imperceptibly blocked up and obstructed a port, which the sea neither enters, nor retires from, except by rebounds after dashing against the great bank.

To preserve or rather to restore to France a port of the highest value on account of its situation, nothing more would be necessary than to clear that of Boulogne, and open its ancient mouth: in that state it will be of a sufficient extent even for the royal navy; it will likewise be able to clear itself. In a word, a harbour as secure as extensive may be given it, by lengthening, in a line parallel to the bank upon
the

the right, the natural mole which the promontory of Castillon presents to the view on the left.

Nothing more is required than to restore that balance between the river and the sea, which nature established, and which the English have interrupted by opening the present mouth. What is here proposed is to assist nature, and not to force it, as has been done at Dunkirk. In the first case expences are circumscribed, they have certain limits set to them: in the second they have none, but money is for the most part lavished at random.

In travelling from Paris to Boulogne, the banks of the Oyse exhibited to my view a phænomenon, the sight of which it was impossible not to be surprized at. These banks and the remainder of Picardy present to the eye a race of men and women, who do not bear the least resemblance to the people in the neighbourhood of Paris. All of them in general, men and women, are of advantageous stature: even the village-girls themselves have a ruddiness of complexion and a plumpness, which is not elsewhere to be found in persons of that rank: the complexion of shepherdesses has all the freshness, which pastoral poetry ascribes to it: age impairs this freshness, without totally destroying it.

When we take a nearer view of the people of this country, and examine them with attention, we discover with astonishment that they are in general differently shaped from the inhabitants of Paris, and of the provinces situated to the East and to the South of the metropolis. The shoulders and hips, sunk at their junctures, decline from the square form: the fleshy parts, without prejudice to their firmness, being gently lengthened, deviate from the spherical form in the same proportion. Almost all the inhabitants of Picardy are shaped according to this mo-

del, which is likewise found in England, and of which Beaumont shewed me the first example.

This town was the first place of the ancient Belgic Gaul upon the road which I travelled. It appeared altogether surprizing to me, that this part of the kingdom should be farther distinguished from Celtic Gaul by marks so little liable to be mistaken.

It is easy to conceive, that the use of beer, cyder, perry, and rural labours, of which the cultivation of vineyards makes no part in Picardy, may occasion in the blood and the whole habit of body, a freshness which manifests itself in the complexion: but how can we account for this sensible difference in the manner in which bodies and their most remarkable parts are formed?

P A S S A G E T O E N G L A N D .

On Thursday the 11th of April, 1765, I embarked at Boulogne in the floop commanded by Captain Meriton, whose business during the whole year is to carry over in bottles, from Boulogne to Dover, or even to London itself, the French wine drunk by the English. In consequence of this management, they pay only in proportion to the consumption, the great duties with which that wine is loaded. Before and after the equinox the channel was in a constant agitation, and that agitation detained in the ports of England such English vessels as were just ready to sail. It had thrown into these same ports, and into those of Flanders and Holland, the Dutch, Swedish and Danish vessels which had been surprized by bad weather at sea: in fine, by shutting up the ports of France, it had long detained a great number of passengers, whom business or curiosity called over to England.

The

The wind not being yet settled, Captain Meriton nevertheless would compute the time that he thought the passage would take him ; but scarce were we in open sea, when the wind veered about to an opposite point ; this circumstance occasioned in the captain's calculation a mistake of three hours, which we passed at anchor. Being in sight of the coast of England, we sailed upon a very rough sea, and in a sad situation for persons little used to that element, till the tide should enable us to enter the port of Dover.

The agitation of the sea had in other respects the usual effect upon the passengers on board, amongst whom were four women : it without ceasing operated as the most violent emetic upon them all, especially upon the latter.

I now found by experience the truth of what I had heard advanced by a captain of a vessel in the navy of France ; namely, that the inhabitants of the inland part of the kingdom are much sooner inured to the sea than those of the maritime provinces. Fear, no doubt, in some measure contributes to the effect produced by the sea : now this fear must be exceeding strong in persons, who from their very infancy have heard of nothing but shipwrecks, of which they are often themselves eye-witnesses. An inhabitant of the inland provinces on the contrary has heard of shipwrecks only at a distance, and looks upon them as exceptions to the general laws of navigation. The first time he sees the sea, a ship is to him not so much an object of terror as of curiosity ; and a view of the ocean leaves no room in his soul, except to the admiration excited by the object most capable of answering the idea that a man can form to himself of immensity.

O B S E R V A T I O N S

In this happy disposition, fortified by resignation to death, which ought to be the first care of all who undertake voyages of curiosity, I did not take so much notice of the roughness of the ocean, as of the address and activity of the pilot and sailors: almost continually upon deck, I enjoyed a sight as extraordinary as amazing by means of a fine night.

The vessels shut up in the ports of France, England, &c. had availed themselves of the subsiding of the agitation abovementioned, to get clear of the harbours in which they had been confined, and to continue their voyage. We made our way through the midst of them in hoisting sail, and they sailed round us whilst we were at anchor. The quantity of these vessels of all sorts was prodigious, the channel seemed to be covered over with them: nothing but my ignorance of the method of working a ship emboldened me against the danger which we ran every minute of being dashed and shattered by the largest of them: they seemed to come down upon us full sail; but such care was taken both on their side and ours, that they at last passed so near us, that we could speak to each other, and we mutually asked whither we were bound, and wished each other a good voyage.

Those French vessels which had been several days waiting at Calais, Dunkirk, &c. for the moment of their passage, arrived with us at Dover, which at that time swarmed with French. Three or four of these vessels ran aground.

I had great reason to be pleased with the custom-house officers in England. These were two men, whom I at first glance took for beggars: they had the appearance of persons of their station, which in England is the lowest and meanest of all. They came on board, and in the most submissive manner asked

asked permission to examine the contents of my trunk, which they opened, and retired with the utmost humility, without so much as searching my pockets, or even my linen-bag. It cost me half a crown to get my effects from the custom-house, where they had been left at my landing; but this is an old due, and not an exaction of the officers: it is called the Viscounty-fee. The inn-keeper at whose house I lodged, was the receiver.

Dover has no other fortification but an ancient castle, which stands upon a promontory of chalk, cut through its center by the sea. It has few other inhabitants but sailors, sea-faring people, and inn-keepers. *Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.*

I saw nothing remarkable, but the enormous size of the signs of the public houses, the ridiculous magnificence of the ornaments with which they are overcharged, the height of a sort of triumphal arches that support them, and most of which cross the streets. I saw post-chaises set off, driven by little boys, who, as I was told, are excellent postillions.

The inns were entirely filled with Frenchmen; and their numbers were so considerable, that they could not all provide themselves with carriages. I could get nothing to eat without going myself to the kitchen, to take beef steaks from the hot coals upon which they were broiling: there was no other sort of victuals to be had. The sole business of the cook was to be constantly blowing the sea-coal, which was half extinguished by the fat of the steaks, and to put new steaks in the place of those which the people of the inn came successively to snatch from off the gridiron. The servants of the house came to awake me at three o'clock in the morning, and to make me give up my bed to new comers: it is true,

I had

I had lain in it ever since six o'clock the preceding evening. Notwithstanding all the rout they made, I kept my place, and did not quit the bed till five o'clock.

I had left Boulogne in the company of an English-woman, who usually resided in that town, and was going over to England with a very amiable daughter. This Englishwoman contrived, in concert with a tall old Irishman, who pretended to be an officer, and had made the passage with us, that I should pay for them in part: in consequence of this resolution, twice as much was exacted from me as I should have paid by right. I mention this little circumstance, merely in order to observe, to the honour of the English, that it was the only trick ever put upon me in that kingdom. Every thing there is exceeding dear; but it is equally so to the English themselves and to foreigners.

The plot laid by the English gentlewoman, the Irishman and the captain, was concerted in the English language, which I did not understand; but, as the loss of one sense is generally supplied by another *, I in some measure saw what I could not hear. Thus, during the time of my residence in England, I heard with the assistance of my eyes: a single word was sufficient to enable me to take the whole meaning of things, which often escaped the observation of those who were not, like me, ignorant of the English language. I have seen several Frenchmen in the same perplexity, though they had studied the English tongue with so much accuracy as to be able to understand even the poets of that nation: they were

* Rabelais, l. iv. c. 5, says in this sense, that " Panurge, since he began to make use of spectacles, heard much more distinctly with his ears than before."

deaf and dumb with regard to the English language spoken in common conversation.

ROAD FROM DOVER TO LONDON.

THE great multitude of passengers with which Dover was then crowded, afforded a reason for dispensing with a law of the police, by which public carriages are in England forbid to travel on Sundays. I myself set out on a Sunday with seven more passengers in two carriages called flying machines. These vehicles which are drawn by six horses, go twenty-eight leagues in a day from Dover to London for a single guinea. Servants are entitled to a place for half that money, either behind the coach, or upon the coach-box, which has three places. A vast repository under this seat, which is very lofty, holds the passengers luggage, which is paid for separately. The coachmen, whom we changed every time with our horses, were lusty well-made men, dressed in good cloth. When they set off, or were for animating their horses, I heard a sort of periodical noise, resembling that of a stick striking against the nave of the fore-wheel. I have since discovered, that it is customary with the English coachmen, to give their horses the signal for setting off by making this noise, and by beating their stools with their feet in cadence: they likewise use the same signal to make them mend their pace. The coach-whip, which is nothing else but a long piece of whalebone covered with hair, and with a small cord at the end of it, is no more in their hands than the fan is in winter in the hand of a lady: it only serves them to make a shew with, as their horses scarce ever feel it. I shall elsewhere give a more full

full and circumstantial account of the great care and tenderness of the English in the treatment of their horses.

As public carriages scarce ever travel on Sundays, we were a sort of shew to the inhabitants of the several towns and places through which we passed; and from thence resulted both advantages and disadvantages to us.

1. We met with no custom-house officers in the places where they are usually posted; this saved us a great deal of searching and visiting.

2. It seemed most probable, that we should meet none of those gentry who are called collectors of the highway, and of whom there is a great number upon the road: in fact, we saw none of that sort, but such as were hanging upon gibbets at the road-side: there they dangle, dressed from head to foot, and with wigs upon their heads.

These advantages were counterbalanced by two inconveniences.

1. On account of the absence of the custom-house officers, care had been taken to fill the boxes of our carriages with cags of brandy, which we left at the inns upon the road, a circumstance that caused us to stop several times. We were, however, comforted by the pleasure of driving a contraband trade innocently, and by the good humour which this little commerce spread amongst the coachmen and postillions.

2. Between Canterbury and Rochester the inhabitants of a village situated on the side of the highway had made choice of that day, on which the high road was to be free, to remove a windmill from the left to the right side of the road, to the place which seemed best suited to it. Now, as that country is very woody, the body of these mills is a sort of a high cage,

cage, which receives the wind above the trees: this cage, which bears a strong resemblance to a bee-hive, consists of a circular frame of wood, surrounded with a lattice rough-cast with lime. That which was to be removed, having the form of a cone thirty feet high, with a diameter of twelve or fourteen feet, moved on in a hollow way which we were then travelling in, and which it filled: twenty or thirty men, some of whom dragged it along with cords, the remainder pushing it on with their hands, advanced slowly; and, as it had twenty fathom length of road still to go, we had but little hopes of soon getting rid of it: coachmen, postillions, passengers, all present, alighted, and joined those who pulled or pushed it on: after about an hour's labour, we reached a part of the road, where the slope, which bordered one of its sides, was least steep; this slope was made level, and lengthened out by the pick-ax: at last the carriages reached the ridge of the road with the help of cords, which entered the body of each carriage and the coach-box. All the Frenchmen present laughed heartily at the adventure, but this had not the least effect upon the flegmatic temper of the English: both young and old talked of many different expedients to get rid of us: at last, they went about the work in good earnest, disengaged our carriages, and resumed their business with all the seriousness of men who had passed their lives in removing windmills.

Upon our way to Canterbury, where we quickly arrived, I had for some time perceived that I was no longer in France. A fat man, who was just got out of bed, stood at a bow-window during the whole time we were waiting for a change of horses, which delay was the more considerable, because we were not expected. All this while the fat man abovementioned,

in his night-gown and velvet cap, contemplated us with his arms across, and without once changing his attitude, stirring, or knitting his brow, with an expression of melancholy in his face, which in France is to be seen only in the countenances of those who have just buried their dearest friend. The like expression was observable in the faces of the young persons of both sexes, who, to have the better opportunity of viewing us, had fixed themselves in the middle of the street, with the same immobility of their arms, legs, eyes and all their features.

The country which we travelled through from Dover to London, is in general a bad mixture of sand and chalk. We skirted some lofty woods, as well furnished as the best-stocked forests of France. They belong to the archbishop and the chapter of Canterbury. We passed over commons covered with heath and strong broom very high, which flourish the whole year round. These wild shrubs are left to the use of the poor of the several different parishes: but their vigour and thickness give reason to conjecture, that there are but few poor in these parishes. The best lands along the road were laid out in hop-grounds; and the hops, being nearly grown, twined about poles of twelve or fifteen feet high.

We met with some parish churches of ancient construction, terminated in a platform, with battlements on each side. These battlements shew that the churches, which are adorned with them, have the rights and privileges of the manor, and that the manor is united to the cure of souls. They could not satisfy me whether this reunion reached the early ages, or if it was a dismembering of the lordships which belonged to the monks, when they were banished out of England*.

* Amongst the Normans the fund of the benefices and of all the cures was a noble fund, part of which the incumbent or pro-

The high roads, which, like all those of England, had been ruined during the civil wars, and entirely neglected till the reign of George the second, were then taken into consideration by the parliament. Being covered with powdered flint stones, they are kept in perfect repair, though in England neither the duty of average nor the proper art of raising causeways are known*.

It must be acknowledged, that the expence for keeping them in repair is not so considerable as elsewhere: In England the sea supplies the principal means of transporting goods of all sorts. The repairing of the high roads is at the expence of those who use them: and turnpikes or barriers are shut against the carriages; where they pay the price settled by a tariff fixed up, according to the number of horses which draw them. Neither rank nor dignity is exempted from these payments: the king himself is subject to them; and the turnpike would be shut against his equipage, if some of his officers did not pay the money before his passing. From London to Richmond, the usual place of his residence, his passage is compounded, which is a special favour conferred upon him; but it is not compounded for the whole year, he pays every quarter. These tolls established in the first ages of the monarchy, were afterwards settled in fee, as well as those of France, and became private property; but the parliament has restored them to their first destination, and every day establishes new tolls with the appellation of turn-

prier might give as an arriere-fief. It was not till the reign of Henry the IVth, that his successors were authorized to claim these dismembered jurisdictions. See the 643d Constit. of Littleton, and articles 142 and 157 of the Reformed Customs of Normandy.

* After a detail of the immense works executed by Vespasian to restore the high roads, Cornelius Victor adds: *tot tantaque brevi confecta, intactis cultoribus.*

pikes.

pikes. The same end has been compassed in France by different means.

The high roads have all along a little bank raised above them, and two or three feet broad, with a row of posts on each side, whose tops are whitened that they may be seen during the night by the drivers of carriages. This is for the conveniency of those that walk afoot. In places where the narrowness of the ground is unfavourable to this arrangement, the proprietors of adjoining lands are obliged to give a passage through their fields, which are all inclosed with strong hedges. The communications of these passages, as well as of those around the villages, are formed by hurdles of about four feet high : passengers must partly leap and partly climb over them. Custom has habituated the village girls to this exercise, in which they acquit themselves with as much gracefulness as agility.

This great attention of the English to the conveniency of those who walk on foot has several causes : 1. They set the highest value upon the lives of their fellow-creatures, and to this circumstance they sacrifice many others which might contribute to pleasure and conveniency. 2. Their laws are not made and executed entirely by persons who always ride in their chariots. 3. As the English carriages move as swiftly in the country as slowly in town, the meeting with persons that walk on foot, and the fear of crushing them, neither diminishes nor crosses this headlong impetuosity.

The high roads are very far from being exactly rectilineal ; not but that there are engineers in England skilful enough to draw a right line across a field ; but, besides that the dearness of land requires some caution, property is in England a thing sacred, which the laws protect from all encroachment, not only from

from engineers, inspectors, and other people of that stamp, but even from the king himself: add to this, that, as we shall find in the article of gardens, the right line is not to the taste of the English.

The farmhouses, which are situated on the side of the high roads, or near them, being built of brick, and covered with tiles, have glass windows, that are kept in the most exact order. The barns are likewise built of brick: there are only a few miserable ones thatched. The appearance is as comfortable within as without. We met a considerable number of carriages loaded with corn and hay, which were going to the ports. Each of the drivers (who were all either labourers or husbandmen) dressed in good cloth, a warm great coat upon his back, and good boots on his legs, rode upon a little nag; he had a long whip in his hand to drive his team; the horses were vigorous and in good plight, and drew with strong chains instead of traces. England however has no persons, who are by profession occupied for the good of the state: the wealth of the country people is the result of their own industry. Public authority deems it sufficient to animate and encourage it: the magistrates would think they limited industry, if they undertook to direct it.

The English have such a method of managing their hay, that they save the expence of buildings, erected in other countries in order to preserve it. They mow for the first time in the month of May: the solstitial rains, which are seldom wanted in England, give rise to a second harvest, followed by a third, when the autumn is favourable; which happens very frequently. These two or three harvests yield in all only a little hay, weak and supple: The country people heap it up in an haycock in their farm-yards. By its fineness, and the humidity

of the air to which it is exposed, it is masticated in some measure, and formed into a body, which is cut into perpendicular portions, larger or smaller as they want them for consumption or sale.

This hay, whose mastication and digestion is infinitely easier than that of hay which comes to maturity upon the ground, is at the same time much less substantial: two thirds of a ration of Paris hay are sufficient for an English horse. Notwithstanding this great disproportion, and the additional number of hands required to such work, together with the little value of meadows which are mowed almost during the whole year, to maintain the large and small cattle; and notwithstanding there results from thence to the proprietors a necessity of leaving a considerable part of their meadows for pasturing cattle, besides the immense commons set apart for this purpose, still the English think they are very much the gainers; because their meadows, when thus cultivated, prove of greater service to them, and because, independent of this gain, the horses that are fed with this hay are better in health, subject to fewer diseases, and retain their lightness and vigour longer. Now, they maintain that hay is made for horses, and not horses for hay: a way of reasoning that may be extended to a thousand articles, which they decide dogmatically according to this analogy.

From Rochester to London, in a prospect moderately distant, is to be seen on the right the Thames, whose banks, covered with the most florid verdure, are planted in an irregular manner with very high trees. Sloops, merchant-ships, and first-rate men of war ascend and descend in a majestic manner upon the river, their masts and sails being agreeably confounded with the boughs of trees along the shore.

The towns and villages upon the road have excellent inns, but somewhat dear; at these an English lord is as well served as at his own house, and with a cleanliness much to be wished for in most of the best houses of France. The innkeeper makes his appearance only to do the honours of his table to the greatest personages, who often invite him to dine with them. This man, who is sometimes the most important personage in the neighbourhood, is a sort of minister of state, and is generally let into the secrets of the assemblies held in his house for the elections of members of parliament. Inns and innkeepers are upon this footing in England, because the noblemen of that country, in their frequent excursions, generally making use of hired horses to draw their post-chaises, pique themselves upon paying in a manner worthy of their quality, and because the English in general are of opinion, that upon the road œconomy may be neglected. But in France the post has ruined the inns, since it is become customary for the nobility, the military and the merchants, to travel by this convenience, and they have thought it a mark of distinction. On the whole road from Paris to Boulogne, I never met with more than one inn, which could come in competition with the English, such as they are at present, and such as those of France were formerly: the inn I mean is that of Montreuil. It is therefore a received custom amongst the English, both on their way to Paris, and when they return home, not to pass by Montrœuil; many of them even make some stay there, to taste the good wine, and enjoy the civil treatment which one meets with in that town. These conveniences begin likewise now to be adopted in Spain: if they meet

with the same success as in France, we should make haste to avail ourselves of the institution.

Upon my arrival at Canterbury, I was shewed the inn, where the duke of Nivernois met with such cruel usage upon his coming into England, to negociate the last peace. For his supper and that of his retinue, which was by no means numerous, the unconscionable inn-keeper had exacted forty or fifty guineas, and the duke paid them. The indiscreet inn-keeper boasted of this imposition; but the gentry of Canterbury and the county of Kent, who held their assembly at his house, advised the duke to prosecute the man for extortion. The duke having, in the most positive manner, refused to sue for any satisfaction, the gentry, in the name of the nation, took upon them to revenge his cause, which they did in the manner following. They entered into an engagement, to hold their assembly no longer at that inn, but to remove to another house. This resolution and these motives having been promulgated in the public papers, all the English gentlemen who happened to travel through Canterbury, thought themselves bound in honour to accede to the agreement. The inn being thus deserted, the inn-keeper was ruined in the course of six months, and turned out of the house, after having seen all his goods sold to satisfy his creditors, who had likewise entered into the combination against him.

There is nothing remarkable at Canterbury, but the Cathedral, built in the same taste, at the same time, and perhaps by the same artists who built that of Rouen *.

* Its construction is in the form of an archiepiscopal cross, that is, it has two crosses which cut its breadth. This Gothic refinement has nothing great or pleasing in it. See the subsequent article of Architecture.

In Rochester there is but one street, about a mile in length, chiefly inhabited by sailors, carpenters and workmen belonging to the royal navy. The navy has its principal dock at Chatham, which is adjoining to Rochester at the mouth of the river Medway. This river runs from South to North through the city of Rochester, under a long, well-built bridge. As the tide was coming in when we passed this bridge, I at first imagined that the river which we were crossing was the Thames itself.

I had the happiness to have for companion in this journey, Mr. Chastanier, son to a principal clerk of the town-house at Paris. After having pursued his studies with success in France, chance fixed him in London, where he practices surgery with great reputation, to which, according to the custom of England, are added chemistry and pharmacy. He was returning from Paris, with a load of drugs, books and prints.

I had reached Boulogne with a young Englishman from Newcastle, who had pursued his studies and attended lectures at Paris in the same profession, with an intention to settle in London. He happened to have with him a young English gentleman of the same age with himself, who was an half-pay officer in the British infantry. This officer coming to Paris with two hundred guineas, in order to pass a month there, without any letter of recommendation or any knowledge of the French language, was now upon his return to England, following the common carriage on foot, with nothing but the coat upon his back. His brown frock, and his hair, which he wore very short, gave him the air of a French abbé, and we conferred that title on him. He hovered about the carriage, marched with the military step, went through the exercise, and spoke

to all that passed by with an air of familiarity, which left him when he happened to meet an Englishman ; then he constantly burst out into tears. The young surgeon knew neither this officer nor his family : he had little more money than was absolutely necessary to defray the charges of his own journey, yet he was willing to help his countryman to pay his way. All the passengers were ready to contribute to this good work ; and whenever there was a vacant place in the carriage, it was given to the abbé. He would go with me to Boulogne. I was present when this officer took leave of his generous countryman, who was called by particular business to Dunkirk : mixing his tears with those of his friend, the surgeon shared with him the small sum of money, which he had left to bear his charges, at the hazard of wanting before he got to London. After having passed a month in that city, I there received a visit from the young surgeon : he had not then seen his fellow-traveller : *even if I were never to see him again, said he, I should not repent having charitably assisted a countryman in distress.* This is not the only example I have met with of benevolence and generosity in England, where those virtues are to be found in persons of all ranks and conditions of life.

I arrived in London towards the close of day. Though the sun was still above the horizon, the lamps were already lighted upon Westminster bridge, and upon the road and streets that lead to it. These streets, are broad, regular and lined with high houses, forming the most beautiful quarter of London. The river covered with boats of different sizes, the road, the bridge and the streets filled with coaches, their broad foot-paths crowded with people, offered to my eye such a sight as Paris would present, if I were to enter it by the finest streets of the Fauxbourg

St,

St. Germain or of the Place Vendome, supposing those quarters of the town to be as much frequented by the common people as by persons of quality.

I happened to lodge near Leicester Fields, at one Mr. Martin's, belonging to the king's kitchen. This quarter of the town is in the neighbourhood of Westminster, and consists of several small houses two stories high, which belong to one principal landlord. He lets out to strangers the apartments, which are very slightly furnished, and consist of two or three little rooms in the first story, at the rate of a guinea a week, and in the second of about half a guinea. Scarce has the landlord any part of these lodgings rent-free, so dear are houses in London.

Mr. Martin was born in France, near Chaumont in Bassigni. Having quitted the French army to serve in the kitchin of the duke of Cumberland, and afterwards in that of the king, he married the daughter of an officer of Dauphine, who had retired to England, at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz ; that officer was still alive.

My landlord, landlady, and their children, spoke English and French with equal fluency ; this was a great advantage to me, not indeed in helping me to learn the language, for no man of sense meddles with foreign languages after forty, but in satisfying my curiosity with regard to a thousand little circumstances, which English people unacquainted with the French tongue could never have explained to me.

The day after my arrival, having attentively examined the map of London, I ventured alone and on foot through that great capital. From Oxford-road I went down into Holborn, and from thence to the Strand, which conducted me to St. Paul's, the Royal Exchange, and beyond. I passed through Southwark to Westminster, after having followed for a-

bove a league the high road which runs along Lambeth, by the prettiest public houses about London. I took this road, because I did not perceive the cross-street which joins it with Westminster-bridge. This is the only mistake I committed in that grand excursion, which took up my whole day, as may very easily be imagined: having thus fixed certain points to direct me in my future walks, I was enabled to go about every where without perplexity or doubt. Such an excursion as this to the quarters lately built north-west of the Thames, soon made me know London thoroughly.

T H E T H A M E S.

Excepting these new quarters, London has only a first view to recommend it, and it is indebted for that to the Thames. That river, as we arrive at it, runs from South to North, and in that direction has Westminster and Whitehall to the left; afterwards turning from West to East, it flows alongside of London, the whole length of which is at least equal to that of Paris taking it from Charanton to Chaillot. Whitehall, which stands at the head of this almost boundless canal, seems by its position to shew itself the palace of a sovereign possessed of

— *imperium pelagi sævumque tridentem.*

I said that the Thames flows alongside of London; for opposite to Westminster it has only the country, in which are scattered up and down pleasure-houses and agreeable gardens, the number of which increases every day. Opposite to London, it has only Southwark, a quarter of the town ill-built, having but two streets in its breadth, and almost entirely occupied by tanners and weavers: this is a suburb, with

with which till our days the city had very little communication, except by means of London-bridge.

This bridge was one of the boldest undertakings that an architect could form a plan of and execute in the age in which it was built: but, though some of the arches have since been enlarged, it forms a barrier which prevents ships from ascending where they might find the Thames navigable, that is to say, as far as the elbow which it makes at Whitehall; and this barrier will be increased by the new bridge, which is now building between the old one and that of Westminster. If the upper part of the bed of the Thames is less deep than it was formerly, it is a consequence of that barrier, which, checking the impetuosity of the current, has in that place facilitated the insensible elevation of the channel.

Above Whitehall, and the elbow there formed by the Thames, stands Westminster-bridge, built in the last reign, to which it is a monument of glory unequalled in all Europe.

Below the old bridge, the Thames forms the port of London: a port of great extent; a secure port for shipping, where the largest vessels come to load and unload; in fine, a port which, by the prodigious concourse of ships of all sorts, that arrive there or sail from thence incessantly to every part of the world, and by the number of men employed aboard these vessels, forms a great and opulent city. It was with a view to this affluence, and the riches it brings in to the city of London, an alderman answered James the First, who in one of his capricious moods threatened to remove the seat of royalty, the archives of the crown, &c. from the capital: *Your majesty will, at least, be graciously pleased to leave us the river Thames.*

Notwithstanding the great conveniency of the old bridge, which will be doubled by that now building at Black-friars, it will be always to be regretted, that the port of London does not extend to White-hall. How greatly would this facilitate the loading and unloading of vessels ! what room for the circulation ! how grand and noble a prospect ! All things compared and weighed, we might justly regret that London is not like Rouen incapacitated to have a stone bridge, and under a necessity of building only bridges of boats. It requires a vast expence to keep these last in repair ; but is it equal to the interests of the sums sunk upon the erecting of stone bridges ? A few individuals, who compose the committees for the latter, are enriched by them : keeping the others in repair employs a multitude of citizens, and puts them in a way of earning their daily bread. The preference in favour of bridges of boats seemed to be agreeable to that spirit of calculation, which is the actuating principle of the city of London, and has such great influence upon the English government. It certainly did not prevail in England at the time that London-bridge was built : it was indispensably necessary to establish a communication, and the engineers of that age could effect that purpose only by the means of fixed bridges.

The chief ornament which London derives from the Thames, it is indebted for to nature alone : human industry, far from contributing to increase or shew it to advantage, seems to exert itself only to destroy or conceal it. I am speaking of quays, which have been wanting ever since the building of London. All possible measures have been taken to conceal the prospect of this fine river, and the passages that lead to it : in a word, throughout the

whole metropolis of London, the Thames, as much confined as the Seine was formerly at Paris, and as it is still between the bridge of Notre-dame and the Change-bridge, has no other communication with the city for the loading and unloading of goods, but by stairs or wharfs, which are regularly shut except they are at work, which remain shut both Sundays and holidays, and which, in fine, form so many gutters to carry off the waters and filth of the city.

The spacious canal formed by the Thames might present us with as noble and striking an object as the great canal of Venice, lined with palaces of the most sumptuous magnificence, and the most pleasing variety, and which have upon that canal their principal front: but the banks of the Thames are occupied by tanners, dyers, and other manufacturers, who there have an opportunity of easily supplying themselves with water. The streets where these manufactures are carried on, are the dirtiest in the city: in fine, the bridges have no prospect of the river, except through a balustrade of stone, with a rail of modillions three feet high, very massive, and fastened close to each other; the whole terminated by a very heavy cornice, and forming a pile of building of about ten feet in height. The old bridge was about twenty years ago covered with houses, as the bridge of Notre-Dame at Paris is to this day; upon clearing it of these houses, it has been railed with modillions after this manner: Westminster-bridge itself is built upon the same plan. In a word, in the first excursion which I made in order to take a survey of London, I could not have a full view of the Thames, either on the side of the city, or on that of Southwark, unless I entered the houses and manufactories, which stand close to the river.

The

The reason which some assign for this is, the natural bent of the English, and in particular of the people of London, to suicide. It must be owned, that above and below London, the banks of the river, entirely unencumbered by buildings, offer a fine opportunity to those who have an inclination to drown themselves: but the length of the way thither, and the consequent opportunity of reflecting, are circumstances most likely to prevent such mischief. It should, moreover, be considered, that imaginations, struck with a sort of enthusiasm, glory in publicly encountering death.

Taste should never be disputed: but if this odd and extravagant taste of the English owed its rise to the melancholy which predominates in their constitutions, the same cause must produce the same effect amongst the Italians: and it would be so much the more sure to produce that effect, as the melancholy of the latter is, in proportion to the climate, more glowing and more exalted than that of the English. Suicide, however, is not the favourite sin of the Italians: I never heard of more than one instance of that nature at Rome, which was looked upon as something extraordinary. A Roman met, in broad day-light, at the entrance of Sixtus's bridge, one of his friends, whose disordered countenance and wild looks gave just grounds to apprehend that he was meditating some fatal design. His friend accosted him, and, by dint of questions, brought him at last to acknowledge, that he had formed a positive resolution to leap from the top of the bridge into the Tiber. As no arguments appeared of sufficient force to make him change his resolution: *Do not yield entirely to despair*, said his friend to him, *but rather turn Capuchin*. *I turn Capuchin!* replied he; *I am not quite so*
despe-

desperate neither. This said, he escaped from his friend, and put his purpose in execution.

Whether the great love which the English have for the water has its foundation in nature, or whether fashion, and the desire of being talked of have a great influence in the affair, the architect of the new bridge, which is building at Black-friars, has thought it adviseable to enclose it only with a single rail, and that high enough to lean upon: that is to say, he uses the same method with the Londoners, as those have recourse to with children, who think that the best method to cure them of liquorishness is, to leave comfits and sweatmeats at their discretion. The comparison that this will give occasion to, must make the railing of the other bridges appear as ridiculous as it is in fact. If the people of London do not abuse this conveniency, perhaps the number of the drowned will not exceed that of the usual contingencies, one year with another. They will then proceed by degrees to clear the river, to open communications with it, and in fine, to border it with quays, in the very body of which, it will be an easy matter to contrive proper places for loading and unloading. These quays being once opened, the first noblemen, the wealthiest merchants, the richest of those who undertake to fit out privateers, allured, some of them by the grand and noble prospect, others by the convenience of commerce, will come to build upon the banks of the Thames, in emulation of each other; and that river will at last be as much frequented as it deserves. Then the improvement of London will resemble that of Lyons. So long as Lyons was confined to the quarter of Fourviere, its construction prevented it from having a view of either the Saone or the Rhone, which its first founders endeavoured to procure. Since it descended to the confluence, the quays,

quays, which it has opened itself upon both rivers, have given it all the advantages that might result from its situation, the principal of which is, being out of danger of the contagion of the plague and other epidemical disorders, by a free circulation of air.

Such are with regard to the city of London the views and hopes of the architect of the new bridge, as he explained them to me himself. *I will even leave them, added he, a model of what they are capable of doing in this way, by joining my bridge to the old one by a quay, so that there will be nothing more to do but to continue it, when reason has at last overcome old prejudices.*

However, to justify the English by an example borrowed from their neighbours, he spoke to me with astonishment of the obstinacy of the city of Rouen, in preserving that infamous rampart; which, separating it in its whole length from the Seine, deprives it of the communication and sight of that river. The destruction of this rampart would contribute as much to the conveniency of commerce, as to the embellishment of the city, both by the direct communication which it would open between it and the port, and by the houses that all men of fortune would be eager to build upon the quay, which in the same direction with the Louvre at Paris would be in proportion susceptible of the same magnificence. But the English architect did not know that Rouen is kept in this state of constraint, by the facility which it procures the farmers general in receiving the duties of the port.

The bridge which this architect is building has not yet received a name: some are for calling it Pitt's bridge, from the present English Demosthenes: those in the party opposite to Mr. Pitt are for calling it

Black-

Black-friars-bridge*, from a monastery that had been demolished in the place which it occupies. Whatever may be its name, it will surpass even Westminster bridge in boldness and in the magnificence of its decorations. It was to have been built in five years, during each of which the parliament assigned the architect 300 guineas. Various accidents and obstructions have protracted the building of it, which in 1765 was in its fifth year. I shall speak of it again under the article *Arts*.

OLD LONDON.

With regard to public and private buildings London has nothing comparable for splendor and magnificence to Paris and the cities of Italy. Old London throughout its whole extent, if we except the several additions which since the reign of Charles the second have at least increased it one half, offers to the view no remarkable buildings but Somerset-house built by the uncle and guardian of the last of the Edwards, the Mansion-house, Temple-Bar, St. Paul's Church, the Royal Exchange, the Monument, and a few churches which lie hid amongst the houses. I shall give a more particular account of these buildings in the article of *Arts*. That I may not be obliged to return twice to Somerset-house, let it suffice to say once for all, that this palace which was raised out of the ruins of churches, is an antiquated structure, built in a vicious taste, and partly tottering.

The Tower is remarkable for nothing but a battery of large cannon, which prevent the enemy from approaching it on the side of the Thames. Sheltered and defended by this fortress, which is said to have existed since the time of the conquest of

* The latter have prevailed. T.

Britain by Julius Cæsar, London has imperceptibly formed itself along-side of the Thames. It had throughout all this extent a sure defence by means of the river, and the marshes in which that river spread itself on the right. The nature of the soil that now supplies the place of these marshes, plainly shews that it could not have been gain'd upon the Thames except by dint of dykes and great labour.

Old London has two great streets that run parallel to the Thames; the Strand, which, being joined to Fleet Street and Cheapside, &c. extends the whole length of the town; and Holborn, which is cut in a disagreeable manner by the prison of Newgate. These two streets are of a good breadth, but not exactly regular. St Paul's is the object which should naturally terminate, the view in the Strand; but after walking a long time in this street, we do not discover that fine cathedral till we are come close to the building*.

We should read the inscription on the monument erected by Charles the second a little above London-bridge, to convince ourselves that in the reign of this prince a great part of Old London was rebuilt upon a new plan. Houses scattered about at random could not form streets more narrow or irregular. If the inhabitants could think they had any reason to congratulate themselves upon the change, it must be from a comparison of the present with the primitive state of those quarters, before they were consumed by the fire; and because when they had gained a little ground by injuring property, which is held very sacred in England, they thought they had done great matters. That part of London must then have been in a more wretched condition than the quarter of Paris called the *City*. With what rapidity must the fire

* This has been somewhat remedied by the pulling down of Ludgate. T.

have spread amongst a confused heap of buildings all of which were of wood ! for it was not till the reign of king James the first that they began to build with brick.

At that time all the cities of Europe, even those of the first rate, were built in the same manner. These snug boxes were extremely favourable to the complexion of the ladies ; the air, which was concentered in them, contributed to preserve all their bloom ; but the leprosy, the king's evil, and the pest, were for ever rooted there ; fires made daily ravages, the progress of which was not to be checked ; in a word, the continual removal of goods which trade requires, could not be effected, except by the hands of porters and amidst an eternal perplexity.

In this quarter of London rebuilt after the great fire, the streets which were paved in such a manner that it is scarce possible to find a place to set one's foot, and absolutely impossible to ride in a coach, are eternally covered with dirt*.

The longest and finest streets, such as the Strand, Cheapside, Holborn, &c. would be unpassable, if there were not, for the conveniency of those who are on foot, paths on each side of the way four or five feet broad ; and, to make a communication between these across the street, little causeways raised above the level of it, and made of the broadest stones picked and culled out with the utmost care for this purpose. It is easy to see what great disadvantages must result from these numerous causeways to carriages.

In the most beautiful part of the Strand and near St. Clement's church, I have, during my whole stay in London, seen the middle of the street constantly foul

* Since the author wrote this account, the new pavement has been so generally extended, that his objections on this head fall to the ground ; and the French now must allow, that London is the best paved and best lighted city in Europe. T.

with a dirty puddle to the height of three or four inches ; a puddle where splashings cover those who walk on foot, fill coaches when their windows happen not to be up, and bedawb all the lower parts of such houses as are expos'd to it. In consequence of this, the prentices are frequently employed in washing the fronts of their houses, in order to take off the daubings of dirt which they had contracted over night.

The English are not afraid of this dirt, being defended from it by their wigs of a brownish curling hair, their black stockings, and their blue furtouts which are made in the form of a night-gown.

To enable the reader to judge how frequently this daubing must happen, it will be sufficient to inform him that the pavement of London is formed of stones just as when taken out of the quarry. These stones, which are almost entirely round, have neither tail, foot, nor any part so formed as to stand upon : they roll about and hit one another incessantly upon a bottom, which is nothing else but a heap of old dirt. The whole art of the paviour consists in placing these stones as near each other as possible ; yet, bad as it is, this pavement is exceeding dear, there being no materials for it in the neighbourhood of London, but sand, gravel, and chalk. With regard to the free-stone pavement, the materials of it are brought at a great expence from the extremities of the kingdom, and it is one of the dearest commodities in London. If we may believe a story told by the people of London, Lewis the fourteenth offered to supply Charles the second with free-stone to pave his capital, upon condition that the English monarch should furnish him with that fine gravel with which the English strew the walks in their gardens, and which when

when well rolled assumes the smoothness of a bowling green.

Means however have been found to pave with free-stone the great street called Parliament-street, which reaches from Westminster-abbey to Charing-cross. The fine street called Pall-mall is already paved in part with this stone; and they have also begun to new pave the Strand. The two first of these streets were dry in May, all the rest of the town being still covered with heaps of dirt; it was even customary to water them as well as the bridges and the high roads in the neighbourhood of London: this has been a practice in England time out of mind, and was some years ago introduced at Paris by Joseph Outrequin*.

Those that walk may preserve themselves from the perplexity and dirt of the most frequented streets, by turning into courts between the Strand and Holborn, which are joined together by passages or alleys that are shewn to a stranger by the crowds continually passing to and fro.

The finest shops are scattered up and down in these courts and passages. The grand company which they draw together, the elegant arrangement and parade made by the shops, whether in stuffs exposed to sale, fine furniture, and things of taste, or the girls belonging to them, would be motives sufficient to determine those that walk, to make that their way in preference to any other, even if they had not neatness and security to recommend them.

The shops in the Strand, Fleet-street, Cheapside, &c. are the most striking objects that London can offer to the eye of a stranger. They are all enclosed with

* Before that time Paris had borrowed from the Londoners the use of hackney coaches and sedan-chairs. The last invention was brought over to France by M. de Monbrun, bastard of the duke de Bellegarde.

great glass doors ; all adorned on the outside with pieces of antient architecture, the more absurd as they are liable to be spoilt by constant use ; all brilliant and gay, as well on account of the things sold in them, as the exact order in which they are kept ; so that they make a most splendid show, greatly superior to any thing of the kind at Paris.

London has in its centre, exactly between Holborn and the Strand, an opening formed in two squares, which by their position appear to have been contrived to make room, in the direction of these two streets and in part of their length, for a street as regular and much broader than that of St. Lewis du Marais at Paris : I mean Covent-garden and Lincoln's-inn-fields. If the middle of the latter were converted into a causeway, it would be of much greater use to the public than the green encompas'd with an iron grate is to those who live in the square.

These two squares are exactly in the same line ; yet scarce have they any communication in their present state. In London every novelty of this sort is dreaded : the extreme dearneſs of houses and land justifies this fear ; in a word, the English prejudice in favour of property, whilst it deprives London of embellishments of which it is ſusceptible, at leaſt ſecures the citizen from the whims and caprices of which he is the ſport in other countries, where he is ſubje&t to the ſway of a thouſand despotic rulers.

The aim of thoſe of London is to improve the proſpect in ſome meaſure, without any way altering or injuriing the property of the ground. Now in theſe new arrangements thoſe who walk, find their ad vantage in every reſpect ; that is to ſay, the paths always gain ſomething in breadth at the expence of the middle of the ſtreet : this I have ſeen an instance
of

of in that part of the Strand which was paved with free-stone.

Except in the two or three streets which have very lately been well paved, the best hung and the richest coaches are in point of ease as bad as carts; whether this be owing to the tossing occasioned at every step by the inequality and instability of the pavement, or to the continual danger of being splashed if all the windows are not kept constantly up.

To make up for the want of the rammer, a machine which the London paviours make but little use of, and to strengthen the pavement shaken and disordered by the coaches, it is an established rule at London, that carriages which serve to carry the materials made use of in building and the heaviest burthens, should have the fellows of their wheels half a foot broad. These fellows, which are fortified across by three common irons, continually perform the office of the rammer or paving machine, add to the enormous weight of these carriages, and render the splashing more frequent and more copious. The service which they are of in strengthening the pavement has been looked upon as of such importance, that the parliament has granted these carriages, upon account of their extraordinary wheels, an exemption from certain duties, that are levied at all the avenues to London, and in London itself.

Notwithstanding the heaviness and immoderate length of these carriages, which are constantly going from the city to the custom-house, and from the latter to the magazines, through the Strand and the streets adjoining to it, that is, through the quarter of London the most filled with coaches, they never give rise to any disturbance: which may be accounted for thus; these carriages move constantly in opposite directions, in two files, which never cross or disturb

each other. The heaviest, and those that move most slowly, directing the march of each of the files, the best carriage in London, as soon as it finds itself engaged with others, is obliged to follow the way pointed out by the file it belongs to, that is to say, to suffer itself to be tossed and jogged about for a long time, whatever reason the driver may have to be expeditious.

But the English do not seem to have that eagerness to arrive at their journey's end, so general amongst people of other countries. By these delays, they rate the time they are to be upon the road, and they are seen to perform this tedious task without inquietude or impatience.

However, if there seems to be any likelihood of its exceeding the time computed, they quit their coach, and mix with the crowd in the foot-path. This happens every day to persons of the first rank ; who upon these occasions would find it a vain thing to attempt to avail themselves of their great names or exalted dignity to be exempted from observing this general rule.

N E W L O N D O N.

THE new quarters of London parallel to St. Paul's Church-yard and St. James's Park, form a new town, which resembles the old one in nothing but the foot-paths in all its streets : having been imperceptibly forming ever since the Revolution, it increases in extent every day in proportion as the dominions of England are extended. In this manner did the antient Romans, at every new conquest, remove the Pomœrium of their city to a more considerable distance :

Hoc paces habuere bonæ ventique secundi.

Pope

Pope and Swift, in their History of M. Scriblerus, represent these new quarters as taking their rise in the parish of St. Giles, which was then only a cluster of little shops and mean places. It is now an assemblage of palaces and houses destined to lodge people of fortune. Oxford-road, which makes part of it, will soon see its little mean houses changed to palaces. In fine, London will shortly reach to Marybone, which is but a quarter of a league distant. This village, which was formed by French refugees, is now an assemblage of agreeable pleasure-houses.

Till the last reign, the noblemen of the three kingdoms being settled upon their estates, did no more than hire apartments, when public affairs or private business required their attendance in that capital: they considered their remoteness from court as the most glorious circumstance of their independence. Their present eagerness to build in London according to their wealth or dignity seems to indicate, that they have forsaken the system of their ancestors. The court has not the same immediate interest in this revolution which cardinal de Richelieu had, in that of a similar sort which, whilst it added lustre to the court of France, ruined the provinces throughout the kingdom. If this extravagant passion should once possess the nobility of Great-Britain, London will, by next century, be double to what it now is. At the same time, as the country towns increase in proportion * with London, this shews an overgrown population, which the colonies should naturally diminish; and yet this is far from being the case,

* Here the author seems to be mistaken; the increase of London rather drains the country. T.

The new quarters of London consist of streets drawn in a direct line, and with great uniformity. The houses, which are of brick, and computed at twenty thousand, built within these fifteen years, have, as in old London, only two stories or three at most, comprising a subterraneous story, occupied by kitchens and offices: this is a uniform arrangement, the model of which was furnished by Bedford-house, built by Inigo Jones. This subterraneous story, which leaves the ground-floor all the salubrity of a first floor, looks into an area three feet broad, which separates the house from the street. The foot-path that lies next to it, stands upon vaults, which contribute greatly to ease the subterraneous apartments. The chief advantage resulting from thence is, that of bringing in, by means of an opening in the foot-path, all the coals that are used in the house; a great matter in point of cleanliness. This foot-path is separated from the area by an iron rail. Two iron pillars make part of this rail, more or less adorned, which, forming a sort of a fore-door, support two lamps that each house is obliged to furnish towards lighting the town; and from all these circumstances united, there results a decoration by which utility and pleasure are connected. The only inconvenience, arising from hence is, that notwithstanding the respectful attention of all English workmen to oblige the public, it is a difficult matter for the persons employed in renewing the oil of the lamps, to prevent some of it from dropping upon those who pass under them. I saw a head broke by the fall of one of these lamps: the person injured bore his misfortune patiently, and with a good grace received the excuses of the lamp-lighter.

*These

These lamps, which are all enclosed in crystal globes, and lighted by way of precaution often half an hour before sun-set, yield immediate light to the foot-path, but convey to the middle of the street only a glimmering, which, in the broad streets, that is to say, those which are most frequented by coaches, is hardly sufficient to enlighten and direct the way.

Another instance of attention to the ease and convenience of the people is, that all public edifices, whether sacred or prophane, all royal palaces, those of princes of the blood, &c. have clocks with great dials, which, shewing the hour to those who are on foot, save them the expence and trouble of a watch.

The new quarters of London are divided, and have a communication with each other by squares, some of which are of considerable extent: being most of them enclosed, like the place-royal at Paris, they have in the middle either green grafts-plots or pieces of water. Grosvenor-square has a garden cut into a variety of walks. Some of them have equestrian statues of the kings who have sat upon the throne of England in latter days. Red-lion-square is adorned with a half obelisk of the greatest proportion, and which produces a good effect. The houses built round these squares are not confined to an exact uniformity: amongst some which are quite plain and simple in front, we meet with others that have ornaments according to the taste or caprice of the owner. During my residence in London, one was finished in St. James's square, that improved upon all about it: it was formed by enormous pillars, a third part of which, entering the wall of the house, supported the whole building, and bore a front proportionable: an extravagant decoration, which seems to have, if

if not a model, at least an excuse, in the enormous colonnade that encompasses the vicarage-house of St. Eustachius at Paris.

Pall-mall and the other remarkable streets at the court end of the town, and which all the noblemen live in, have no court-yards or great gates; their entrances are but small, not above four feet in breadth; adorned with only two pillars of the Doric order, over which stands a heavy pediment, as much out of its place as the pillars themselves. This manner of laying out their houses is owing to the extreme dearness of the ground, and that great taste which the English have for cleanliness, a taste not very compatible with stables, and all the dirty work with which those places are unavoidably attended: little bye alleys serve for stabling horses and putting up the coaches.

I have in all London seen but four houses, which can be compared with the grand hotels of Paris: that of the earl of Chesterfield, that of the duke of Bedford, and the houses of the Spanish and French ambassadors: and yet these houses, which are built chiefly of brick, have nothing of that striking lustre which the stone called Pierre de Tonnerre gives to those at Paris.

Montague-house deserves to be taken particular notice of. By its extent, the variety of parts in which it is laid out, the magnificence of its ornaments, and its agreeable situation, it appears to be rather a royal palace, than the house of a private nobleman; especially at London, where the king's palace is only an assemblage of very ordinary buildings, huddled together, without order or regularity.

The parliament has purchased this house, and dedicated it to the public utility, by depositing in it such monuments and records of every kind as are

capa-

capable of ascertaining the present state of arts and sciences, and promoting their future progress. This vast collection, though it is not complete in all its parts, bears, as well as the palace which contains it, the title of the British Museum. I shall speak of it more at large under the article *Sciences*.

The chapels, in the new quarters of London, are nothing more than little brick edifices : they will hereafter be rebuilt in a manner worthy of their destination, by means of the great funds assigned for that purpose in the reign of queen Anne. These funds have already procured the city of London several churches, of which I shall give some account presently.

Notwithstanding the breadth and regularity of its streets, notwithstanding the free circulation of air, New London is as much buried in dirt as the old. The ground upon which it stands, and which is extended farther and farther every day, is a level plain, very rich and fertile ; one part of it forms a meadow, which is of so much the greater use, as it absorbs, for want of a declivity, all the rain-water. This want of a declivity, which formerly contributed to increase the richness of the soil, has now no other effect but to make the streets more dirty. An attempt has been made to remedy this, by a few subterraneous sinks that carry the waters of each house to the river, by wells which absorb them, and by forbidding, under severe penalties, the throwing any water out of the windows : notwithstanding these precautions, the fine streets in these new quarters were, during my stay in London, as dirty as ever, though large carts were constantly employed in carrying off the dirt.

If we add to the inconveniency of the dirt, the smoke, which, being mixed with a constant fog, covers

vers London, and wraps it up intirely, we shall find in this city, all those particulars which offended Horace most in that of Rome *.

This smoke is occasioned, during the winter, which lasts about eight months, by the sea coals made use of in kitchins, apartments, and even the halls of grand houses; and by coals burnt in glafs houses, in houses where earthen ware is manufactured, in blacksmiths and gunsmiths shops, in dyers yards, &c. all which trades and manufactures are established in the very heart of London, and upon both banks of the Thames. The conveniency afforded by the river for distributing sea coal, their only firing, to these several work-houses; the facility which results from their situation, to enable men to remove the goods manufactured in them to the magazines and shops, without being under a necessity of making them up into bales, and putting them into chests, have brought upon London, and entailed upon it for ever, all the inconveniencies that result from such establishments within its bosom. That of the smoke gains ground every day: if the increase of London proceeds as far as it may, the inhabitants must at last bid adieu to all hopes of ever seeing the sun.

This smoke, being loaded with terrestrial particles, and rolling in a thick, heavy atmosphere, forms a cloud, which envelopes London like a mantle; a cloud which the sun pervades but rarely; a cloud which, recoiling back upon itself, suffers the sun to break out only now and then, which casual appearance procures the Londoners a few of what they call *glorious days*. The great love of the English for walking defies the badness of other days. On the 26th of April, St.

* *Fumum & opes, strepitumque*; to which we add, *illuviaem*.

James's park incessantly covered with fogs, smoke and rain, that scarce left a possibility of distinguishing objects at the distance of four steps, was filled with walkers, who were an object of musing and admiration to me during that whole day. When the spring was completely opened, all this park, trees, alleys, benches, grass-plots, were still impregnated with a sort of black stuff, formed by the successive deposits which had been left by the smoke of winter.

But it is not enough for this smoke to wrap up and stifle London and its inhabitants: it brings upon them immediately and of itself a thousand inconveniences, no less pernicious than disagreeable: inconveniences which will augment in proportion to the increase that London every day acquires.

The vapours, fogs and rains, with which the atmosphere of London is loaded, drag with them in their fall the heaviest particles of the smoke; this forms black rains, and produces all the ill effects that may justly be expected from it upon the cloaths of those who are exposed to it. Their effect is the more certain and unavoidable, as it is a rule with the people of London, not to use, or suffer foreigners to use, our umbrellas of taffeta or waxed silk: for this reason, London swarms with shops of scourers busied in scouring, repairing, and new furbishing, the cloaths that are smoked in this manner. This scouring is perpetual.

Even the buildings themselves feel the effects of the smoke, and nothing can prevent their being injured by it. The most considerable, to begin with St. Paul's, being built with Portland stone, which bears a great resemblance to the Pierre de Tonnere in the whiteness and fineness of the grain, seem to be built with coal; and the more so, as the

parts

parts most exposed to the rain retain some degree of their first whiteness.

The sad and gloomy air which smoke gives to buildings, is one of the least injuries it does them: its corrosive particles act upon the stone, eat it away, and destroy it. At the time of the great fire of London in 1666, the ancient cathedral, which which was consumed by it, had, since the reign of Elizabeth, been the object of reparations as frequent as expensive, occasioned by the imperceptible action of the smoke upon all the parts of that great pile of building. London was, however, but half as big as it is now, taking it in its whole extent. Somerset-house is an instance of the great effect, which the rust deposited by exhalations from sea-coal fires have upon buildings. The stones of that palace, which appears to have been built with the utmost care, are in filigreen-work, reduced to the state of metal unequally corroded by aqua-fortis.

The inside of public buildings and of the houses of individuals is equally hurt by the most volatile, penetrating, and corrosive parts of the smoke. The furniture of houses generally speaking consists of large chairs, the seats of which are in part stuffed up very full, and covered with Morocco leather, and partly of mahogany tables. With regard to the walls, they are hung with cloth or printed paper by those who are not satisfied with plain wainscot; as for the beds, they are made of stuffs more solid than brilliant, and which require to be frequently renewed, if people prefer shew to solidity.

Libraries are above all liable to be damaged by the smoke. Bindings of books, though taken ever so much care of, and ever so fine in themselves, soon assume the hue of the old trumpery which have lain

two or three years upon the quay de la Ferraile at Paris, exposed to the inclemency of the weather. Hence those of the learned who are most curious in elegant bindings are obliged to enclose them hermetically under glass covers; and even so it is found necessary to have them rubbed from time to time. Dr. Gally always began with this ceremony, when we went together for any book to his fine library.

Such is, with regard to its natural state, that famous city, concerning which Pavillon said:

*Elle est pour moi toute pleine d'appas :
Je ni vois ni commis, ni moines, ni misere ;
L'on n'y travaille guere,
Et l'on y fait de bons repas *.*

The English maintain London to be larger and more populous than Paris; and the French look upon Paris as the most considerable city in Europe, as well for extent as number of inhabitants. With regard to the extent, we should take notice, 1. That London has neither those palaces, hotels, or religious houses, which, without utility, occupy near a third part of Paris: 2. That the houses there are but two or three stories high at most, and that each house is generally occupied by a single family. With regard to populousness, if we reckon amongst the inhabitants of London the men and families scattered throughout those vessels of all sorts, whose continual conflux fills the channel of the Thames from London-bridge to Gravesend, the result will be an overplus which will make the populousness of London come in competition with that of Paris.

* That capital is form'd my soul to please,
No spies, no monks, no wretches there appear;
There life is pass'd in indolence and ease,
And all the jocund pleasures of good cheer.

P O L I C E.

P U B L I C D I V E R S I O N S, &c.

BUT London differs from Paris in nothing so much as the police which is observed there.

Considering the well-known taste of the English for combats of men and animals, and for those horrid scenes of slaughter and blood, which other nations have banished from their theatres, I expected to find at London a people as sanguinary as ready to engage in quarrels ; a people in whom the love of carnage equalled their pride and insolence ; a people amongst whom tranquillity and security could not be established, except by redoubling precautions, and the measures required elsewhere for the support of the police : but I was mistaken, and perceived afterwards that I had just reason to exclaim,

Non istis vivitur illic

*Quaeis tu rere modis : urbs hac nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis.*

The whole management of the police is in the hands of certain justices of the peace, of as little importance as the commissaries of the quarters at Paris : here justice prosecutes offences without endeavouring to prevent them, through respect for the freedom of the nation, which might be hurt by distrust ; it has no spies in its retinue, nor those offices of covert and secret correspondencies, which it looks upon with the same evil eye as the best Roman emperors did upon informers *.

London has neither troops, patroll, nor any sort of regular watch † ; and it is guarded during the night

* See, at the beginning of the fourteenth book of Ammianus Marcellinus, a fine picture of people of this sort, relative to the use made of them by the tyrant Gallus.

† Like the *Guet* at Paris. T.

only by old men chosen from the dregs of the people; who have no other arms but a lanthorn and a pole; who patrol the streets, crying the hour every time the clock strikes; who proclaim good or bad weather in the morning; who come to awake those who have any journey to perform; and whom it is customary with young rakes to beat and use ill, when they come reeling from the taverns where they have spent the night.

The English themselves acknowledge, that London swarms with pick-pockets, as daring as they are subtle and cunning. Though I was always in the streets, and in the midst of multitudes, whom chance threw in my way; and though I never took any care of my pocket; I had no reason to complain of suffering by their subtlety, which I encouraged by my carelessness. After taking a walk one evening in the avenue to Chelsea Hospital, I sat down upon a bench, where I fell asleep with a book in my hand: upon waking, I found myself surrounded with old soldiers, one of whom told me in French, *That I had run a great risk, in giving way to sleep in that manner. I knew, answered I, that I was surrounded with military men and brave fellows: what hazard could I run in such company?* Having said this, I gave the Frenchman a shilling for his information. Notwithstanding this, happening to be afterwards in Kensington-gardens, and having turned to the sun one of those boxes which are scattered up and down the grass-plats, and move round upon pivots, I again gave way to sleep: but my awaking was attended with the most agreeable surprize imaginable. The box was taken by a company of handsome young women, who had kept the most profound silence. For this they now indemnified themselves, by entering into a very gay chat with me, which

lasted as long as could be expected between persons who did not rightly understand each other. My book, which I was looking for, happened to be in the hands of one of the handsomest of them, who gave me leave to testify my gratitude by a kiss. This is the only theft, which my want of precaution against pickpockets ever exposed me to.

However the inhabitants of London may think themselves surrounded with thieves, they do not act in consequence with regard to the pewter pots, in which the publicans distribute strong beer to the houses in their neighbourhood. As soon as these pots are emptied, that the boys belonging to the ale-houses may gather them with the greater ease, they are thrown into the entries of open houses, and often into the street at the foot of the door, which is shut. I saw pots thus lying in the streets at every turn; and this sight encouraged me not to be afraid of thieves.

The police does not meddle with the management of public diversions. It thinks itself in duty bound to respect the pleasures and transient gaiety of a nation, which has only these places to suspend the melancholy and natural seriousness that form its characteristic. The public diversions of London, not being molested by any inspectors, are more free than those of Paris were before M. D'Argenson gave orders that they should be superintended by the French guards: a freedom the more astonishing in the former, as footmen, who are admitted without paying, fill a high gallery which commands the stage.

All the gazettes of Europe are from time to time filled with accounts of the disturbances, tumults, and quarrels, which are the consequence of this liberty. The last quarrel of which they make mention, was
occas-

occasioned by a company of French dancers, who had been received at the little theatre in the Hay-market, and against whom the pretenders to patriotism had formed a cabal. The engagement was lively; the combatants returned to it several days successively with fifty-cuffs and cudgels; and the victory having, at last, declared for the patriots, the French left the field of battle to the conquerors. The police and the ministry had, during this whole contention, observed a strict neutrality.

Drury-lane theatre had, about the same time, been the scene of action, in a contest the more warm, as the liberty of the nation was then in question, or an interest supposed to be closely connected with it.

At the London theatres, they generally give a play of five acts, followed by a petite piece of one or two more. It has been customary, to admit, at the end of the third act, at half price, all who desired to enter: hence it came to pass, that many persons not chusing, through a spirit of œconomy, to come to the three first acts, which are often the least interesting, the theatres were crowded with spectators who paid only half price for their places; and this the managers by no means found their account in. Mr. Garrick, the greatest actor that England, and perhaps Europe, ever produced, being then the acting manager of the theatre of Drury-lane, imagined he might avail himself of the reputation which he had acquired by his genius, to put his theatre upon the same footing with those of Paris: he therefore propos'd it to the public, in the bills of the first play which was to be acted at the house that season.

This proposal raised as great an alarm in London as the approach of an hostile army could have done. It extended even to those who did not frequent the theatres: in a word, on the appointed day, that of

Drury-lane was extremely crowded. A profound silence prevailed through the whole audience, till the play began: but scarce did the actors make their appearance upon the stage, when a general outcry was set up. Garrick's friends, at first, did their utmost to appease the disturbance by remonstrance and intreaties; and afterwards the most officious among them proceeded to fisty-cuffs and cudgels against those who were most clamorous. The engagement soon became general: during the fray, the players still continuing upon the stage, victory declared for those who were for the half price; whereupon they tore up the benches of the pit and galleries, demolished the boxes, and made themselves arms of the shattered pieces, to drive the players off the stage, and compleatly rout those who had espoused their cause. The victory having proved decisive, part of these shattered pieces were taken up, and carried off by the conquerors, as trophies.

The theatre, having been repaired and opened again, was as much crowded as before; and Garrick, coming upon the stage to apologize for what had passed, was treated by a part of the audience with indignity, which he answered by declining a considerable time to perform, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the nobility and gentry, seconded by the king himself*.

Before the play-house was thus demolished, the king's box had been adorned with figures of the lion and unicorn, the supporters of the arms of England. These figures, which were heavy and indifferently carved, adorned the front of the box, where they were fastened only by a few pegs. They were the first weapons made use of when the pit was in an up-

* For a farther account of this transaction, in which the author has been misinformed, see Appendix. T.

roar: the unicorn was thrown upon the stage, where it fell amongst the players, who fled for it: the lion, being either heavier or thrown with less dexterity, did not reach the mark at which it was aimed; it fell upon the orchestra, where it broke the great harpsicord to pieces. By this accident the king's box was greatly improved, in losing a Gothic ornament, which it has not since been thought advisable to replace.

In the year 1749, the little theatre in the Hay-market suffered a shock still more dreadful. An Italian, whose name was Calagorri, undertook to abuse the credulity and idle curiosity of the English. He published an advertisement, that, on the Monday following, the spectators should be presented with a common wine bottle, which any of them should first examine: That the bottle should be placed on a table in the middle of the stage: That a man (without any equivocation) should go into it, in sight of all the spectators, and sing in it: That, during his stay in the bottle, any person might handle it, and see plainly that it exceeded not a common tavern quart bottle. At the hour appointed, the theatre was filled with persons the most eminently distinguished for birth, rank, or learning. The spectators waited for an hour or two; they grew impatient and vociferous, when a fellow came from behind the curtain, and told them, that if the performer did not appear, their money should be returned. At the same time, a wag crying out from the pit, that, *if the ladies and gentlemen would give double prices, the conjurer would get into a pint bottle,* presently the alarm was sounded. Their mortification at being thus taken in was converted to rage: the most furious had recourse to the revenge usual upon such occasions: they instantly began to pull down the house. In the midst

of this confusion, and the cries of the people who were crowded and pressed together by those who were without, and who were excited to enter by the noise which they heard within, all the candles being put out, the dread of being crushed to death armed the crowd against themselves. Blows were given repeatedly on every side ; the door was pulled down, and those who were most eager to get out, escaped at the breach, all oyer bruised and covered with wounds. Those who were by their passion blinded to the danger, continued the work they had begun, and did not desist till they had destroyed every thing upon the stage, and even pulled down the house. Amongst the most distinguished personages who happened to be present at this troublesome affair was the late duke of Cumberland : that prince had a sword, which was exceeding valuable, and a present made him by the queen of Hungary. This sword, being wrested from his side, and broken in the efforts which he made to get out of the house, was found amongst the ruins of the theatre ; and the duke gave a reward of forty guineas to the person who brought it to him. As to Calagorri, no sooner had he received the money for this wonderful operation, but he mounted a horse which was kept ready for him behind the play-house, and made his escape ; availing himself of the two hours that the spectators were waiting, and the time that the people were engaged in endeavouring to preserve their lives, instead of wreaking their vengeance upon a sharper that had taken advantage of their credulity.

Such are the consequences of the want of a police to regulate theatrical entertainments at London : but this is a branch of public liberty ; and it is easy to conceive what a latitude that leaves to words ; it extends even to the king himself—to the king now upon the throne.

throne. At the time that the additional tax was laid upon porter, the king's ears were saluted in the theatre with all that indecent freedom of expression, which the utmost bitterness of resentment could suggest to a haughty people. After that, his majesty for some time left off going to the theatres, in consequence of a gross affront, addressed personally to him, and uttered so loudly and distinctly that every body could hear it.

Women of the town, another article in which the police is in a particular manner concerned in other great cities, seem to give the magistrates of London very little trouble. Yet they are more numerous than at Paris, and have more liberty and effrontery than at Rome itself. About night-fall they range themselves in a file in the foot-paths of all the great streets, in companies of five or six, most of them drest very genteely. The low-taverns serve them as a retreat, to receive their gallants in : in those houses there is always a room set apart for this purpose. Whole rows of them accost passengers in broad day-light ; and above all, foreigners. Their busines is so far from being considered as unlawful, that the list of those who are any way eminent is publicly cried about the streets : this list, which is very numerous, points out their places of abode, and gives the most circumstantial and exact detail of their features, their stature, and the several qualifications for which they are remarkable. A new one is published every year, and sold under the piazza of Covent-garden, with the title of the New Atalantis, and the name of the author, M. Harris, in the title-page. There are likewise to be seen in the same place two other poems, one entitled, *The Meretriciad*, the other *The Courtezan*, both very fit to be annexed to the above list.

Besides the women of the town who ply in the streets, London has many substantial wholesale dealers, who keep warehouses, in which are to be found compleat parcels. A warehouse for commodities of this sort goes by the name of a Bagnio; the prices are there fixed, and all passes with as much order and decency as can be expected in a commerce of this nature. I shall elsewhere inform the readers what order in the state contributes most to support these brothels.

Mr. Wilkes's affair, occasioned by his 45th number of the *North Briton*, has shewn all Europe to what lengths the liberty of the press is carried in London. The foreign powers of Europe, and their ministers, would in vain flatter themselves, were they to hope for more respectful treatment from the London authors, than the king of England and his ministers meet with themselves. In how many satires and bitter invectives was Lewis the XIVth mauled, long after the total defeat of the Jacobite party! Lord Molesworth, upon returning from his embassy to Copenhagen, about the beginning of the present century, published an account of Denmark, replete with the most severe observations upon the court and present state of that kingdom. The king of Denmark had then a connexion of the utmost intimacy with the court of England; and gave orders to his ambassador to require of king William ample satisfaction from the author of the book, requesting even that he should be delivered up to the Danish minister, that he might make an example of him. "Take care, said king William to the ambassador, take great care how you suffer this order of the king your master to get wind; it would have no other effect but to cause another edition of the book, and make it sell better than ever,"

Satirical prints are less taken notice of by the police even than books. A prodigious number of little shops, particularly about Westminster-hall, are every day lined with prints, in which the chief persons, both in the ministry and in parliament, are handled without mercy, by emblematical representations, most wretchedly executed. The engraver thinks he has attained his end, if he can but hit off a few features, to make the persons known, whom he intends to exhibit as laughing-stocks to the people.

I have seen a print of this sort, which represented the principal judges tumbled together in a cluster, with their full-bottomed wigs about their ears, and snoring in the most ludicrous attitudes imaginable. The features of most of those magistrates could easily be discovered, and the design was executed by a masterly hand.

COMBATS.

WHATEVER is not an immediate infraction of the public peace, or has no tendency to endanger the liberty or lives of the citizens, does not fall under the cognizance of the police; which of consequence leaves full liberty to the combats that frequently happen at London between the lower sort of people, and sometimes between persons of condition, who, by way of recreation, chuse to engage in a bruising match.

The mob are the supreme judges of these combats; and they have traditional laws, the first of which is, that the combat is to last till one of the parties acknowledges himself conquered, either by begging for quarter, or lying upon the ground without stirring, and rejecting the assistance of the spectators, who are always ready to raise the vanquished.

These

These combats are managed by blows with the head and fisty-cuffs. These bruisers, when they enter the lists, take off their cloaths, and often even strip themselves to the skin ; it is but politeness in an Englishman to act in this manner when he has a foreigner to contend with. The combatant shews thereby, that he is not afraid of blows, and that he has nothing upon him that can either ward them off or deaden their effect.

This species of combat is, no doubt, congenial to the character of the English. It has always been practised in England, and from thence adopted by the inhabitants of Bretagne in France, who have constantly retained it, and still practise it with certain modifications *. It was a genteel diversion amongst Englishmen of the first rank. In the famous interview between Francis the first and Henry the eighth at Boulogne ; the latter one day took the king of France by the collar, and proposed wrestling to him ; the challenge being accepted, Henry gave the French monarch two trips, which Francis recovered from, and laid the English king sprawling upon the ground, giving him, says Fleurange, a surprising toss†.

This taste is so inherent in English blood, that at Eaton, Westminster school, and other places of the same sort, the children of the greatest noblemen often challenge one another to combats of this kind, and box according to all the rules and punctilios of honour. " Why should I not fight ? said one of these boys to me : am I not a match for any other of my age ? If I decline the combat, or own myself worsted in it, the rest of the boys will have an advantage

* In the Joyous Adventures, a work printed for the first time in 1555, the hero of the first novel travelling through Bretagne came to a wealthy gentleman's house, where there were three youths of a good age and stature, expert dancers, and wrestlers, and who would not have been afraid to engage a man collar to collar.

† Hist. de Calais, par M. Lefevere, tom. ii.

over me ever after ; my adversary will have a right to say, I have beat that fellow, I am therefore his better." These young noblemen, notwithstanding, had never an opportunity of learning lessons and examples of this species of ferocity amongst the lower sort of people.

It extends even to women, at least among the vulgar. I saw in Holbourn a woman engaged with a man, who, taking all sorts of advantage, flew at her with a rage of which the most frightful symptoms were conspicuous in his attitude, and all the features of his face : having struck her with his utmost force, he retreated back, and rouzed himself, by pouring out torrents of abuse, to return again to the attack. The woman, who appeared less furious than he, seized these intervals, to fall upon his face and eyes with her hands. I was witness to five or six bouts of the combat ; which surprized me the more, as the woman had, upon her left arm, an infant a year or two old, which was so far from crying out, as it is natural for children to do even in circumstances of less danger, that it did not so much as seem to knit its brow, but appeared to attend to a lesson of what it was one day to practise itself.

The Police* takes no cognizance of these combats of individuals, which keep up the bravery of the people, but without fortifying their minds against the fear of sharp weapons. It allows men to revenge, upon the spot, an insult which they have not given occasion to. I once saw in Parliament-street one of the low fellows that infest the foot-

* I could never learn whether the Police had any influence in putting an end to those violent combats, which used to be exhibited upon theatres by persons bred to it like the gladiators of ancient Roma. The cruelty of this exhibition was doubtless the reason for discontinuing it.

paths of that neighbourhood, fall foul of a gentleman who was passing by, give him the most opprobrious language, and even lift up his hand to strike him : the gentleman thereupon applied his cane so violently to the skull of the aggressor, that he fell to the ground insensible, and the gentleman very quietly walked on. I was given to understand, that the insult which he had received was entirely unprovoked, and that he would have had no prosecution to fear even if he had killed the man.

Happening another time to be taking a walk in St. James's Park, I saw a tolerably well-dressed Englishman come into the middle of the mall, to attack a person who had the air of a foreigner, and wore a sword. He had the insolence to stand in his way, and, without touching him, made a shew of a few allonges at him in tierce and quarte. The foreigner provoked at this behaviour, clapt his hand to the hilt of his sword ; at which the Englishman instantly took to his heels. A lawyer, with whom I was then walking, assured me, that if the foreign gentleman had that instant run the fellow through the body, the insult he received was so public, that he would have been in no danger from the law.

Murder is, notwithstanding, looked upon in England as the greatest and most heinous of all crimes. The prepossession which the laws have established in this respect has so universally prevailed in the minds of men, that even highwaymen seldom go so far as to kill those whom they rob. As soon as the heat of the bloodiest revolutions subsides, this prepossession again coming in force preserves the lives of persons, who, in any other country, would without mercy be sacrificed to reasons of state.

Thus Richard Cromwell, Fairfax, and all the chiefs of the anti-royal party, survived the re-establish-

ment

ment of monarchy, and spent the remainder of their days unmolested. I was shewn at court the grand daughter or great grand daughter of Cromwell, a connexion which is not so much considered as a mark of infamy as it is of honour and distinction.

The city of London, destitute, as I have already observed, of troops, guards, and a patrole of any sort, peopled by unarmed men (for few wear swords except physicians, and officers when they are in their regimentals), reduced in the night to the superintendancy of old men without arms, is guarded only by the divine commandment, *non occides, thou shalt not kill*, and by laws enacted against murder, severe and rigidly observed, without distinction of rank or persons; whether it be that the law has had some influence upon the character of the people, or that the national character facilitates the exact observance * of the law †.

London is the only great city in Europe where neither murders nor assassinations happen. This I found by experience, as far as it was possible for me

* See below, the article of Laws and Jurisprudence. Cicero said in his oration for Cecinna: *Nihil in civitate tam diligenter quam jus retinendum est: quo sublato; nihil est quod æquabile inter omnes esse possit.* “ Nothing should be so carefully preserved and attended to in a city as justice; which being once destroyed, there can remain nothing to put all the citizens upon one level of equality.” One of those extraordinary persons whom France reckons amongst its principal statesmen, M. Pithou, after a life passed amidst the agitations of civil war, said in his last will: *Rectâ, sincerâ, æquabili, constanti inter omnes justitiæ administratione, etiam sceleratissimis atque audacissimis os occludi, manus obligari vidi, expertus sum.* “ By a just, pure, equable, and constant administration of justice amongst all, I have seen and experienced that the mouths of the most wicked and audacious may be stopped, and their hands tied up.”

† The people who were polluted with slaughter in almost all the revolutions of England, resembled the present inhabitants as little, as the present Parisians resemble those who lived at the close of the 15th century, or the Parisians of the year 1472.

to find it. Returning from the play-house late at night, I chose, in preference to great streets, narrow passages, very indifferently lighted, like those which at Paris lead from the street of St. John de Beauvais to St. Michael's place, through St. John of Latran, St. Benoit, and the Sorbonne. I told those who asked me the reason of my giving this preference, that I was desirous of knowing by my own experience, whether it was fact that there were no assassinations in London; and I had in this respect as full and satisfactory information as I desired. Even in the most violent disturbances, when I was in the midst of the mob, I have seen them threaten weakly, plunder some houses obnoxious to them, throw a few stones, and, though surrounded by troops, remain in a kind of awe, as well as the soldiers, through mutual fear of the effusion of blood*.

In a word, the people of London, though haughty and ungovernable, are in themselves good-natured and humane: this holds even amongst those of the lowest rank. This appears from the great care which they take to prevent the frays almost unavoidable, amidst the eternal passing and repassing of carriages in the most frequented streets, some of which are exceeding narrow. If, notwithstanding the great care of the coachmen and carmen to avoid them, there arises some confusion and perplexity, their readiness to turn aside, to retire, to open, to lend each other a hand, if there be occasion, prevents this confusion from degenerating into one of those bloody frays which so often happen at Paris. Let us even add, to the honour of English coachmen, that I have seen four hundred coaches together at Ranelagh, which placed themselves in a file, passed each other, and were always ready at the first word, without either guards or directors to keep them to order.

* Vide infra.

At public festivals, and all ceremonies which attract a crowd, let it be ever so great, children, and persons low in stature, are seen to meet with tender treatment ; all are eager to make room for them, and even to lift them up in their arms, that they may have an opportunity of seeing. The passages and doors of the place where the festival is celebrated are guarded by persons, who have no guns, partisans, or halberts for their arms, but long hollow staves, which, when they make use of them, a case that happens very rarely, make a great noise, and do but little hurt.

THE POOR.

IF the Police is unemployed with respect to the several objects which I have been speaking of, this is in a great measure owing to there being but very few poor in London, on account of the many charitable foundations, and the immense sums produced by the poors rate. This is raised and distributed by each parish : it is one of the first charges to which all houses are subject ; and a very capital one it is. The reader may judge of this, by the total of the product of the tax, valued at 22 millions of livres *. It is one of those imposts which citizens of the lower sort pay most chearfully ; they look upon it as a fund, the interests of which are upon the death of the father of a family secured to his widow and children.

Either the tax might be lowered, or the poor might receive more certain and more considerable relief, if it was not that some people enrich themselves thereby, in defiance of all justice and honesty, and

* The Poors Rate, for England only, is supposed to exceed three millions and a half sterling. *Poolethw. Dic^r. T.*

contrary

contrary to the practice of all ages and countries. During my stay in London, the house of lords took into their serious consideration a bill for a general administration, and for establishing an office for raising, dividing, and distributing the product of the poor's tax. I was present once when the house of lords sat upon this affair; and it gave rise to an event which was at last decided in favour of the poor, after a long and warm discussion.

This event was owing to lord Lyttelton, who observed, that as that honourable house was descending into a particular detail of the wants of the poor, and the relief which they required, he thought himself bound to propose to their lordships, as the first step to this relief, that all the acts which passed in parliament for them, or in their name, and relative to any charitable establishment whatever, should be exempted from all costs and charges. This motion principally affected the lord chancellor, who receives part of those perquisites, and presides in the house as speaker. He rose from his seat, and, after having spoke a long time of his private disposition to have the affair put upon the footing proposed, he laid a great stress on the ancient usage, and the danger of making innovations. Lord Mansfield, chief-justice of the king's-bench, and one of the most eloquent orators in England, seconded the lord chancellor in a long speech. In fact, the affair had been brought upon the carpet by the party then in opposition to the court, who were stiled the *Patriots*, with no other view but to oppose the ministerial party, who were called the *Abettors of Corruption*. The question was in consequence debated with all the warmth which might naturally be expected from the secret views of those

who made the motion, and those who opposed it. After a long debate, there being nearly an equal number of votes on both sides, they were counted with the utmost care, and the bill in favour of the poor passed by a plurality of three.

The two parties having thus made trial of their force, and neither of them relying so much upon it as to avail themselves thereof in the bill for the general administration, the project came to nothing. It will here be asked, What interest contending parties could have, to use their influence upon a bill of that nature in opposition to each other? Their motive was, that they might each of them have it in their power to provide for persons in whom they could confide, and to introduce their friends into lucrative places. Add to this, that to change the established regulation in respect to the poor was attended with danger, as it could not be effected without offending a considerable number of persons, who would have been ruined by the new plan; and amongst these, both clergy and laity, each party has champions, whom it is their interest to be upon good terms with.

Be that as it will; the poors tax, notwithstanding the abuses inseparable from all pecuniary affairs, and notwithstanding the enormous sum to which it amounts, is the most noble method by which an opulent people can derive honour from their wealth. By clearing the streets of London of beggars, it has delivered the Police from the chief cares by which its attention is elsewhere engaged.

To form a judgment of this Police from the advertisement published by M. de la Condamine, upon his being ill-used by a justice of peace, we might be tempted to conceive a very disadvantageous idea of

those who are in that employ; but what provoked M de la Condamine so highly was, in fact, a mere trifle. A strict inquiry having been made into this affair, the justice of peace, whom M. de la Condamine was for having put out of the commission, was continued in it. It must be acknowledged, that he was afterwards deprived of his office for another malversation; and this made the wound, that M. de la Condamine had given the Police of London, bleed afresh.

If we were to form an estimate of the circumstances of the inhabitants of London from the daily gains of the artisans, that people might be thought very rich in comparison of the Parisians, the price of work being almost double to what it is at Paris: and the more so, as they are in general as regular in their morals and conduct as the people of Paris are the reverse. It must at the same time be observed, that the inhabitants of London eat and drink well, are handsomely cloathed *, and procreate accordingly; yet every thing is so dear in London, that tradesmen of the lower sort, though they earn a great deal, and are at no expence but what is unavoidable, and to procure bare necessaries, live, as such people do every where else, from hand to mouth. The distant counties of England are, in these particulars, the same thing with respect to London, as the provinces of France are with regard to Paris: and in both kingdoms the same balance holds between the inhabitants of the country and those of the cities: though in England the country people seem to have greatly the advantage, as they taste that felicity which was enjoyed by the people of Israel in the days of

* In crossing the Thames, I have been rowed by watermen dressed in silk stockings.

their prosperity : * *Habitabat unusquisque absque timore ullo, sub vite sua, & sub ficu sua, & comedebat de ficu sua & vinea sua, & bibebat de cisternis suis* : a condition, which had been preceded and followed by ages of blood and tears, in which the drooping husbandmen † *euntes ibant & flebant, mittentes semina sua*, Ps. cxxvi.

To enable the reader to form a judgment of the dearneſſ at London, I ſhall here give a list of their prices during the time of my reſidence in that city: bread was $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 d. a pound ; coarse meat $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.; roaſting beef 8 d. — 9 d.; bacon 10 d.; butter 11 d.; can- dles $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.; the price of a milchcow was 12 or 14 guineas : an acre of land, in the neighbourhood of London, was let for four or five pounds ; and a cart-full of dung, taken at London, was valued at twelve ſhillings. This great dearneſſ of provisions excited murmuring and clamours amongſt the people ; but it did not cauſe a famine : and the parliament never once thought of taking it into conſideration, till urged by the long and earnest ſolicitations of the people, who tumultuously applied for redreſſ. The only meaſures taken by the legislature were, laying an embargo upon English corn, and ſuffering the importation of foreign grain, during three months. In the debates upon this occaſion, one of the firſt peers of England obſerved, that the dearneſſ of provisions was not ſo much a proof of a dearth of corn, as of the great ſuperfluity of gold and ſilver, which war and commerce had brought into the kingdom ; that the country partook of that ſuperfluity, which extended even to the farmer ; in fine, that it

* Each man lived, without fear, under his own vine, and his own fig-tree, and ate of the fruit thereof, and drank out of his own cisterns.

† They went forth and wept, ſcattering their ſeed.

should not be considered as an evil which required their serious attention, but as one of the strongest ties that could be conceived to bind and attach the people to the government, in the present state of affairs. This declaration having taken air, occasioned an insurrection amongst the populace, which I shall give an account of elsewhere.

The English bread is very good, and very fine, though it has a great deal of crumb. It was the English, that first thought of using yeast or the flower of beer for leaven to make bread: a custom, which, with great difficulty, began to obtain at Paris about the middle of the last century. The first edition of the History of the Police of Paris presents us with extraordinary papers relative to the contests which it occasioned. The Parliament of Paris, taking cognizance of this affair, consulted the most eminent citizens, together with the gentlemen of the faculty, and were almost for consulting the Sorbonne; their contradictory opinions increasing the difficulty, instead of diminishing it, the little loaves continued in possession of the yeast or flower of beer. The case will, no doubt, be the same with regard to inoculation, for which likewise all Europe is indebted to England. Those who are interested on either side of the question, cannot read the pieces relative to this affair, collected by the commissioner la Marre, without the highest satisfaction; especially the opinion of the famous bookseller Vitré: that piece could not discover more humour, if Moliere himself had drawn it up.

The butter and tea, which the Londoners live upon from morning till three or four o'clock in the afternoon, occasion the chief consumption of bread, which is cut in slices, and so thin, that it does as much honour to the address of the person that cuts it, as to the sharpness of the knife. Two or

three

three of these slices furnish out a breakfast. They are no less sparing in their other meals : what would be scarce enough for a Frenchman of an ordinary appetite, would suffice three hungry Englishmen. They seem to eat bread merely through fear of being thought to eat none at their meals : as this is the national taste, their physicians look upon bread as the heaviest of all aliments, and the hardest of digestion. 'Tis this taste, and the custom established in consequence of it, which enables the English to export a prodigious quantity of corn : an exportation, which does not so much prove their being overstocked with that commodity, as their using but little. Of consequence, a scarcity of corn is not much felt, even by the common people, who could go without bread, if circumstances required it.

From hence it may be inferred, by the way, that the cultivation of land is regulated by different principles in France from those which direct it in England, where one half of the ground, both is, and ought to be, laid out in pastures and fields for grazing cattle.

M E A T.

I had heard a great deal of the excellence of the meat which is eaten in England ; but, after having used it in all the different shapes in which it is served up to tables, that is to say, both roast and boiled, I could find in it neither the consistence, the juice, nor the exquisiteness, of that of France. Their fowls are soft and flabby ; the veal has all the imperfection of flesh not completely formed ; the mutton has nothing to recommend it but its fat, which is so much the more disgusting, as the butchers do not take off the tallow : even their beef itself,

which is a less compact flesh, and more easily divided than that of France, and of consequence more easily chewed and digested, could deceive only by that circumstance, and its excessive fatness *, those Frenchmen, who prefer it to that of their own country. The comparison between the two is decided by a fact that happens every day. The English are strangers to soups, and to what in France goes by the name of Bouillé. If they sometimes have broths for the sick, or soup for foreigners, the meat, with which they make it, is never after to be seen, at least at great tables; as it is totally exhausted and deprived of its juice, it is no longer fit to be served up, or to be eaten: it is nothing else but a *caput mortuum*. The boiled meat brought to table, passes on the fire only the time requisite for its boiling; and the water is thrown away. Whilst I resided in London, on the days that I dined at home, I ordered the pot to be put on; and if the beef boiled above two hours, it was no longer fit to be eaten; but the soup was the better. Shortening the operation, we contrived to have a bouillé, which still retained some of the juices, but at the expence of the soup, which the English chuse rather to go without, more through necessity than choice.

If from vegetation we can draw any just conclusion, with regard to animal nutrition, that of England will explain to us, why the flesh of animals, each of which is of a considerable size in its kind, is there less firm, less compact, and less succulent, than in France. In a mild climate, which is neither subject to the violent heats or excessive colds of France, the English atmosphere, loaded with fogs,

* That excessive fat of the meat eaten by the English seems to verify, with respect to them, the prophecy of Ezekiel, xxxix. 19.
“ And ye shall eat fat, till ye be full.”

and always humid, by hastening vegetation, renders it stronger and more vigorous, on account of the uniform suppleness preserved by the strainers in which the nutritious juices circulate. It is easy to perceive this, at least, in such parts of England, as I have travelled through, from a view of the trees, whether cut down or growing. The elm, for example, as well in its trunk as in its branches and its bark, resembles the poplar of France: and the poplar, when grown to its full thickness, bears a likeness to the willows of France in their full vigour: all these trees are equally covered with a sort of moss, or rather down, light and of a greenish colour, which may be rubbed off with the hand, and is doubtless as much the effect of an easy transpiration, as of the humidity of the atmosphere. Hence it is, that in England, plane-trees, and others of that sort, which are cultivated in compliance with fashion, have that prodigious celerity in growing, which the climate of France can never attain to.

Extend this analogy to herbs, and to all the lesser vegetables which cattle feed upon *; extend it also to animal nutrition; and it will result from thence, that the flesh of English animals, being of a substance less firm, less compact, and less solid, than that of animals in France, is not equally able to bear the operation which prepares the best dish in French cookery. 'Tis perhaps for this reason, that our salt beef is so much inferior to the salt beef of England and Ireland, that those who fit out our vessels give it the preference: flesh takes salt more or less, as well as all the preparations which salting requires, in proportion to the greater or less density of its parts.

* Hence arises the perfection of milk, whey, &c. in London, where the consumption of this commodity is double to what it is at Paris.

The Isle of Man, which lies at an equal distance from England, Scotland, and Ireland, is, in this respect, the very reverse of England; its soil, which is lofty, destitute of woods, and open to all the winds, is stocked with men and animals of the most diminutive sort. But these animals, if compared with those of England, are, for substance and juice, what a sheep of the plains of Champagne is in France, in comparison of the same kind of animal bred in the rich pastures of Normandy.

The price of garden-stuff is in London proportionably dear with other commodities *, and they are not much better than the rest. All that grow in the country about London, cabbage, radishes, and spinnage, being impregnated with the smoke of sea-coal, which fills the atmosphere of that town, have a very disagreeable taste, which they communicate to the meat wherewith they have been boiled. I ate nothing good of this sort in London, but some asparagus, which doubtless grew at a good distance from that capital. It is to be further remarked, that the constant mildness of the climate of England supersedes most of those precautions, which the French gardeners are obliged to observe. They sow almost every thing in unprepared ground, more or less covered with rich mould. I saw no hot-beds, except at the country-seats of gentlemen, whose gardens are kept in the most elegant manner.

C L E A N L I N E S S .

T H E humid and dark air which enwraps London, requires the greatest cleanliness imaginable; and in this respect, the inhabitants of that city seem to vie

* A leek was sold for a penny.

with the Hollanders. The plate, hearth-stones, moveables, apartments, doors, stairs, the very street-doors, their locks, and the large brass knockers, are every day washed, scoured, or rubbed. Even in lodging-houses, the middle of the stairs is often covered with carpeting, to prevent them from being soiled. All the apartments in the house have mats or carpets; and the use of them has been adopted some years since by the French.

But what is an article of necessity in England, is mere extravagance in France. The houses in London are all wainscoted with deal; the stairs and the floors are composed of the same materials, and cannot bear the continual rubbing of feet without being cracked and worn. This renders carpets or coverings necessary. Add to this, that these floors, which are of excellent deal, and are washed and rubbed almost daily, have a whitish appearance, and an air of freshness and cleanliness, which the finest inlaid floor has not always*.

'Tis purely to defend themselves against humidity, that the English make so constant a practice of washing their apartments; a custom, which renders a fire absolutely necessary, when it might be most easy to do without one: but even in those seasons it would, as they affirm, be still more necessary, if the water did not absorb the humidity which the air leaves behind it, wherever it pervades. Hence London would be uninhabitable, if, to supply it with constant fuel, it had not a resource in sea-coal, which immense forests would be insufficient to furnish.

* This taste for cleanliness has banished from London those little dogs, which are kept at Paris by persons of all ranks, and fill the houses, the streets, and the churches.

To shew how unlike London is to Paris, both in this want, and in the methods of supplying it, it will be sufficient to observe, that in the month of May all the apartments in the British Museum, apartments as extraordinary on account of their number as their size, had a fire in them; not so much to warm the rooms, as to preserve from damps and humidity the books, the manuscripts, the maps, and the curious collections of all sorts, deposited in that fine building. The public libraries of Paris, even the king's, stand in no need of fires, for the preservation of their precious deposits: the precaution used in London to prevent the curiosities of the Museum from being iujured by the damps, is equal to their care in airing those of Paris.

S E R V A N T S.

THE neatness of the Londoners in their apartments, and in every article of furniture, requires great care in the servants; yet they do not appear to give themselves much trouble about it, but are more sedulously employed in attending upon their masters. Under the article *Arts*, I shall speak of a chimney-piece, the sculpture of which, formed of elegant figures, and almost all in relievo, made me tremble for this master-piece of art, which was to be delivered up to servants. I intimated my apprehensions to the sculptor himself, in whose shop it then stood; but he assured me, that his work would be the better, for passing through their hands. In a word, the care of servants is here equal to the punctuality of masters, who, generally speaking, follow one invariable order in the whole progress of their lives. All the domestics of the citizens are dressed in plain,

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but good cloaths ; and insolence is not the characteristic of any in that station of life. Coachmen, as a mark of distinction, wear an upper coat adorned with a long cape of two or three rows, each of which has a fringe. With this upper coat wrapped round them, their bodies bent, and their legs swinging backwards and forwards, they cut the same figure on the coach-box as those modish coachmen who make the pavement of Paris sparkle. With regard to outward appearance and demeanour, the coachman of a minister, or of the first nobleman, or of the most eminent merchant in London, has nothing to distinguish him from his comrades, who do not seem to consider even the meanest hackney-coachmen as their inferiors.

The servant-maids of citizens wives, the waiting women of ladies of the first quality, and of the middling gentry, attend their ladies in the streets and in the public walks, in such a dress, that, if the mistress be not known, it is no easy matter to distinguish her from her maid.

The assiduity, the care, the cleanliness, and the industry, which the English require in their servants, fix the value of their wages ; that is to say, their wages are very considerable. The reader may form a judgment of them, from those given by my landlord to a fat Welsh girl, who was just come out of the country, scarce understood a word of English, was capable of nothing but washing, scowering, and sweeping the rooms, and had no inclination to learn any thing more. The wages of this girl were six guineas a year, besides a guinea a year for her tea, which all servant-maids either take in money, or have it found for them twice a day. The wages of a cook-maid, who knows how to roast and boil, amount to twenty guineas a year. The vales received by footmen double their wages. These vales are not ex-

actions

actions upon foreigners alone, as is generally thought: all Englishmen are obliged to pay them; and they pay them punctually, even when they visit their friends and nearest relations. My landlady's sister paid these vales every time she came to dine with her. The nobility of Scotland were the first to make an effort to exempt foreigners from these exactions; hence they entered into an association, the chief aim of which was, to increase the wages of servants. Lord Morton informed me of this, when I dined at his house: he gave me to understand, that he was one of those who were at the head of the association. In other houses of persons of the same rank, which I have dined at, the same orders were given, no doubt: so as I did not see the servants range themselves in a file to receive money, I walked out with all that freedom of air which is so natural to Frenchmen. The news-papers have been filled with accounts of the refractoriness of servants, occasioned by the suppression of the old custom of giving vales. It seems, however, highly probable, the masters will gain their point, if the English do not take it into their heads that their liberty is thereby infringed. Notwithstanding this practice (which prevails in some measure at Rome, and in part of Italy), the cards are gratis in houses where people play. The duke de Nivernois, whilst he was negotiating the peace at London, adopted this custom of the English.

H O U S E S.

HOUSE-RENT is another article extremely expensive. All the houses in London, excepting only a few in the heart of the city, belong to undertakers, who build upon ground, of which a lease is taken for forty, sixty, or ninety-nine years, upon

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condition of surrendering the house in its then present condition to the proprietor of the ground, as soon as the lease is expired: the agreement made, the solidity of the building is measured by the duration of the lease, as the shoe by the foot.

Those which are let for a shorter term have, if I may be allowed the expression, only the soul of a house: *de canna straminibusque domos.* It is true, the outside appears to be built of brick; but the wall consists only of a single row of bricks; and those being made of the first earth that comes to hand, and only just warmed at the fire, are in strength scarce equal to those square tiles or pieces of earth, dried in the sun, which, in certain countries, are used to build houses. In the new quarters of London, brick is often made upon the spot where the buildings themselves are erected; and the workmen make use of the earth which they find in digging the foundations. With this earth they mix, as a phlogiston, the ashes gathered in London by the dustmen. I have even been assured, that the excrements taken out of necessary-houses entered into the composition of bricks of this sort.

The inside of these buildings is as much neglected as the outside: small pieces of deal supply the place of beams; all the wainscoting is of deal, and the thinnest that can possibly be found. This makes the rooms wider, and contributes to lessen the expence. The apartments are wainscoted two thirds of their height; and the safes have pulleys, by which they can be lifted up and pulled down with ease. In houses built in this manner, it is easy to conceive the progress and the ravages made by fires, which are sometimes unavoidable. By virtue of an agreement with the undertakers, the proprietors of the

ground

ground insure and renew considerable funds, which these grounds produce; the undertakers do not chuse to leave in their families the seeds of those everlasting law-suits, which take their rise from insurances and mortgages. The citizens lodge as cheaply as they can, considering how exorbitant rent is in general: in a word, the English, as well as the Orientalists, find every moment something to remind them, that the tomb is the only sure and lasting habitation of man.

All the houses in London, whether solidly or slightly built, are insured against accidental fires. The price for insuring is settled, in proportion to the rent; and those who insure are obliged to run the risk. Independent of the spirit of calculation, which seems to govern England, this establishment owes its origin to the deep impression, which the great fire of London in 1666 made upon the minds of the inhabitants.

Those who let lodgings have the same advantage with regard to the furniture; which some public offices secure to them at the bottom of an inventory, made between them and the insurers.

These expedients, which seem to promise an eternal duration to London, have not yet been made use of at Paris.

I have already observed, that lodging is exorbitantly dear at London. To convince the reader of this, it will be sufficient to inform him, that the house in which I occupied an apartment, built upon an irregular ground in the form of a harpsichord, only sixty feet high, and fourteen broad, and which had but three stories, comprising the kitchen, a pantry, and other places below stairs, was rented at thirty-eight guineas a year: the landlord was, moreover, obliged to pay a guinea a year for water, with which

which the houses of London are supplied at that yearly taxation, besides two towards the poors tax, and three for window-lights, scavengers, and the watch.

This water, with which all the houses in London are supplied, is regularly distributed to them three times a week, in proportion to the quantity made use of by each house. It comes through subterraneous pipes, of a diameter suited to the quantity to be distributed; from whence it is received and preserved in great leaden cisterns.

This water, which is but indifferent, is supplied by the Thames, from whence it is raised by fire-engines, the first of which was invented, and placed at the bottom of London-bridge, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by a native of Germany. A French refugee, named Savari, since brought this machine to perfection, and the celebrated Dr. De-saguilliers has given a description of it: a French physician has also made use of it to sweeten salt water. Count d' Herouville had recourse to it likewise in draining the marshes, some years since, in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk. The vapour of the water raised and rarefied by the ebullition is the spring of this machine; a spring, whose force would be incredible, if its effects did not convince us of its power.

Those parts of London, which are most distant from the Thames, or which stand upon high ground, were without water. A worthy citizen supplied this want, by a plan, of which mention will be made amongst the Patriotic Establishments.

P U B L I C W A L K S.

BESIDES St. James's Park, the Green Park, and Hyde-park, the two last of which are continuations of the first, and which, like the Tuilleries at Paris, lie at the extremity of the metropolis, London has several public walks, which are so much the more agreeable to the English, as they are less frequented and more solitary than the Park. Such are the gardens contained within the compass of the Temple, of Gray's-inn, and Lincoln's-inn. They consist of grass-plats, which are kept in excellent order, and planted with trees, either cut regularly, or with high stocks: some of them have a part laid out for culinary uses. The grass-plats of the gardens at Lincoln's-inn are adorned with statues, which, taken all together, form a scene very pleasing to the eye.

St. James's Park and its appurtenances are not kept in such good order as these gardens which belong to particular buildings. In that part nearest to Westminster, nature appears in all its rustic simplicity: it is a meadow, regularly intersected and watered by canals, and with willows and poplars, without any regard to order. On this side, as well as on that towards St. James's palace, the grass-plats are covered with cows and deer, where they graze, or chew the cud, some standing, others lying down upon the grass: this gives the walks a lively air, which banishes solitude from them when there is but little company: when they are full, they unite in one prospect, the crowd, the grandeur, and the magnificence of a city, as wealthy as populous, in the most striking contrast with rural simplicity.

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Agreeably to this rural simplicity, most of these cows are driven about noon and evening to the gate, which leads from the Park to the quarter of Whitehall. Tied in a file to posts at the extremity of the grass-plat, they swill passengers with their milk, which, being drawn from their udders upon the spot, is served, with all the cleanliness peculiar to the English, in little mugs, at the rate of a penny a mug.

W I N E S.

I was as little used to milk as to beer and tea; I was soon reconciled to all these; but I could never accustom myself to the wine of London.

The red wine is usually of three sorts, namely, Port, Bourdeaux, and Burgundy; the white wine is either Spanish or Canary. Port wine, leaving no taste in the mouth, acts upon the stomach only by its weight; the Bourdeaux wine, of the thickest and strongest sort, is heightened and enlivened by an infusion of spirits. I have drunk Burgundy at very good tables: it cost six shillings the bottle; but it left in the mouth a sort of a taste like that of brandy. With regard to the white wine, it is for the most part made in England: the English drink this wine such as it is, and it is to their taste.

With regard to red wines, I was informed by a vintner, a master of his business, that the country people gather in the hedges round London the floes and blackberries, which they publicly sell to the wine-merchants; that many of these merchants have in the country brambles and wild shrubs, which bear fruits of this sort; and when they are ripe, the vintage commences in London: that is to say, the wines then begin to be brewed, the chief ingredient of which is the juice of turneps boiled to a total dissolution.

This juice, mixed with that of wild fruit, with beer, and litharge, after a slight fermentation, produces the Port wine, drunk at taverns and places of public diversion in and about London: it is an ingredient, which is blended, according to the rules of the vintners art, in a greater or less quantity, with all their Bourdeaux wine, and even their Burgundy, which, as it comes out of the hands of many wine-merchants, often consists only of the poor dregs of Languedoc and Provence.

I drank no pure unmixed wine, except in two houses: first, at that of a French banker, who, having a correspondent at Lisbon, considered it as a high advantage, to be supplied with Port wine in its pure and natural state; this wine, which is of a deep colour, but lively, and of a very high spirit, resembled the best claret in right order, such as is drank at Bourdeaux itself.

The surgeon, in whose company I travelled from Dover to London, had brought from France two bottles of Macon wine of the best sort: happening in my walks to pass through the part of the town where he lived, I went to pay him a visit; he took me into his closet, and drew out of a chest, in which he kept his most precious effects, one of the above-mentioned bottles of Macon wine, out of which we drank a glass a-piece to all our friends in France.

Great Britain has formerly had its vineyards in certain parts of Wales, and even in some of its northern provinces. The continual variation of the temperature of the air, and the constant humidity of the climate, were by no means favourable to these vineyards; the grapes being seldom compleatly ripened, it is easy to guess what sort of wine they produced. Since a regular cultivation has enabled

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England to make the best of its soil, the farmer, neglecting vineyards,

Feliciores conserit arbores;

and has confined his care to walks of vine-trees, twined about latticed frames, that furnish him, at his deserts, with a sort of grape, which, though exposed to the sun in the most advantageous manner, seldom attains to a compleat maturity.

I have, notwithstanding, seen at Cobham, in a fine park belonging to Mr. Hamilton, a vineyard, properly exposed to the sun, where about half an acre of land is planted with Burgundian vines. From several different places was brought that sort of earth, supposed to be most suitable to the cultivation of these trees, which the owner of the park is greatly attached to, and upon which he spares neither care nor expence. When I saw this vineyard, they had just fitted up the vine-props, which were nothing else but pieces of the great poles used in hop-grounds. I told the vine-dresser my opinion of this bad method of propping the vines. In fact, these poles, by their size, and their being set up so close to each other, make a shade, which is most hurtful to the vine; and the juices which come from them as they rot, mixing with those by which the vine is supported, totally weaken and destroy them. The vine-dresser listened attentively to my observations, and promised to substitute in the place of the poles abovementioned the smallest rods that he could possibly procure.

I have since tasted wine, the product of that vineyard; to the eye, it was a liquor of a darkish grey colour; to the palate, it was like verjuice and vinegar blended together by a bad taste of the soil.

Such is the natural state of London. Let us now turn our reflections to the animated part of that metropolis: I mean, the inhabitants; who, in my first

excursion, the day after my arrival, astonished me more than the city which they inhabit.

T H E P E O P L E.

AMONGST the people of London we should properly distinguish the porters, sailors, chairmen, and the day-labourers who work in the streets, not only from persons of condition, most of whom walk a-foot, merely because it is their fancy, but even from the lowest class of shop-keepers.

The former are as insolent a rabble as can be met with in countries without law or police. The French, whom their rudeness is chiefly levelled at, would be in the wrong to complain, since even the better sort of Londoners are not exempt from it. Inquire of them your way to a street: if it be upon the right, they direct you to the left, or they send you from one of their vulgar comrades to another. The most shocking abuse and ill language make a part of their pleasantries upon these occasions. To be assailed in such manner, it is not absolutely necessary to be engaged in conversation with them: it is sufficient to pass by them. My French air, notwithstanding the simplicity of my dress, drew upon me, at the corner of every street, a volley of abusive litanies, in the midst of which I slipped on, returning thanks to God, that I did not understand English. The constant burthen of these litanies was, French dog, French b——: to make any answer to them, was accepting a challenge to fight; and my curiosity did not carry me so far. I saw in the streets a scuffle of this kind, between a porter and a Frenchman, who spit in his face, not being able to make any other answer to the torrent of abuse which the former poured out against the latter without any

provocation. The late Marshal Saxe, walking through London streets, happened to have a dispute with a scavenger, which ended in a boxing bout, wherein his dexterity received the general applause of the spectators: he let the scavenger come upon him, then seized him by the neck, and made him fly up into the air, in such a direction, that he fell into the middle of his cart, which was brimful of dirt.

Happening to pass one day through Chelsea, in company with an English gentleman, a number of watermen drew themselves up in a line, and attacked him, on my account, with all the opprobrious terms which the English language can supply, succeeding each other, like students who defend a thesis: at the third attack, my friend stepping short, cried out to them, that they said the finest things in the world, but unluckily he was deaf: and that, as for me, I did not understand a word of English, and that their wit was of consequence thrown away upon me. This remonstrance appeased them, and they returned laughing to their business.

M. de la Condamine, in his journey to London two or three years ago, was followed wherever he went, by a numerous crowd, who were drawn together by a great tube of block tin, which he had always to his ear; by an unfolded map of London which he held in his hand; and by frequent pauses, whenever he met with any object worthy of his attention. At his first going abroad, being frequently hemmed in by the crowd, which prevented his advancing forward, he cried out to his interpreter, "What would all these people have?" Upon this, the interpreter, applying his mouth to the tube, answered by crying out to him, "They are making game of you." At last they became used to the sight; and ceased to crowd about him, as he walked the streets.

The day after my arrival, my servant discovered, by sad experience, what liberties the mob are accustomed to take with the French, and all who have the appearance of being such. He had followed the crowd to Tyburn, where three rogues were hanged, two of whom were father and son. The execution being over, as he was returning home through Oxford-road, with the remains of the numerous multitude which had been present at the execution, he was attacked by two or three blackguards; and the crowd having soon surrounded him, he made a fight for the rabble. Jack Ketch, the executioner, joined in the sport, and, entering the circle, struck the poor sufferer upon the shoulder. They began to drag him about by the skirts of his coat, and by his shoulder-knot; when, luckily for him, he was perceived by three grenadiers belonging to the French guards, who, having deserted, and crossed the seas, were then drinking at an ale-house hard by the scene of action. Armed with such weapons as chance presented them, they suddenly attacked the mob, laid on soundly upon such as came within their reach, and brought their countryman off safe to the ale-house, and from thence to my lodgings. Seven or eight campaigns, which he had served with an officer in the gens-d'armes, and a year which he afterwards passed in Italy, had not sufficiently inured him to bear this rough treatment: it had a most surprizing effect upon him. He shut himself up in the house a fortnight, where he vented his indignation in continual imprecations against England and the English. Strong and robust as he was, if he had had any knowledge of the language and the country, he might have come off nobly, by proposing a boxing-bout to the man whom he thought weakest amongst the crowd of assailants: if victorious, he would have been honourably brought home,

home, and had his triumph celebrated even by those who now joined against him. This is the first law of this species of combat; a law, which the English punctually observe in the heat of battle, where the vanquished always find a generous conqueror in that nation. This should seem to prove, in contradiction to Hobbes, that, in the state of nature, a state with which the street-scufflers of London are closely connected, man, who is by fits wicked and cruel, is, at the bottom, good-natured and generous.

I have already observed, that the English themselves are not secure from the insolence of the London mob. I had a proof of this from the young surgeon, who accompanied me from Paris to Boulogne.

At the first visit which he paid me in London, he informed me, that, a few days after his arrival, happening to take a walk through the fields on the Surry side of the Thames, dressed in a little green frock, which he had brought from Paris, he was attacked by three of those gentlemen of the mobility, who, taking him for a Frenchman, not only abused him with the foulest language, but gave him two or three slaps on the face: "Luckily, added he in French, I did not return their ill language; for, if I had, they would certainly have thrown me into the Thames, as they assured me they would, as soon as they perceived I was an Englishman, if I ever happened to come in their way again, in my Paris dress."

A Portuguese of my acquaintance, taking a walk in the same fields, with three of his countrymen, their conversation in Portuguese was interrupted by two watermen, who, doubling their fists at them, cried, "French dogs, speak your damned French, if you dare."

I say nothing of the throwing of stones one day about noon, in the midst of Holborn, into a coach, where I happened to be, with three Frenchmen, one of whom was struck on the shoulder: those stones might, perhaps, have been aimed elsewhere, and have hit us only by accident.

Happening to go one evening from the part of the town where I lived, to the Museum, I passed by the Seven Dials. The place was crowded with people, waiting to see a poor wretch stand in the pillory, whose punishment was deferred to another day. The mob, provoked at this disappointment, vented their rage upon all that passed that way, whether a-foot or in coaches; and threw at them dirt, rotten eggs, dead dogs, and all sorts of trash and ordure, which they had provided to pelt the unhappy wretch, according to custom. Their fury fell chiefly upon the hackney coaches, the drivers of which they forced to salute them with their whips and their hats, and to cry *buzza*: which word is the signal for rallying in all public frays. The disturbance, upon this occasion, was so much the greater, as the person who was to have acted the principal part in the scene, which, by being postponed, had put the rabble into such an ill humour, belonged to the nation which that rabble thinks it has most right to insult.

In England, no rank or dignity is secure from their insults. The young queen herself was exposed to them upon her first arrival at London: the rabble was affronted at her majesty's keeping one window of her sedan-chair drawn up.

This insolence is considered by many only as the humour and pleasantry of porters and watermen; but this humour and pleasantry was, in the hands of
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the long parliament, one of their chief weapons against Charles the First.

The politeness, the civility, and the officiousness of people of good breeding, whom we meet in the streets, as well as the obliging readiness of the citizens and shopkeepers, even of the inferior sort, sufficiently indemnify and console us for the insolence of the mob; as I have often experienced.

Whatever haste a gentleman may be in, whom you happen to meet in the streets; as soon as you speak to him, he stops to answer, and often steps out of his way to direct you, or to consign you to the care of some one who seems to be going the same way. A gentleman one day put me in this manner under the care of a handsome young mistress, who was returning home with a fine young child in her arms. I travelled on very agreeably, though I had a great way to go, lending an arm to my guide; and we conversed together as well as two persons could do, one of whom scarce understood a word spoken by the other. I had frequent conversations of this sort in the streets, in which, notwithstanding all the pains I took to make myself understood, and others took to understand me, I could not succeed: I then would quit my guide, and say to him, with a laugh, and squeeze of the hand, *Tower of Babylon!* He would laugh on his side likewise, and so we used to part.

Having occasion to inquire for a certain person in Oxford-road, I shewed his address at the first shop I came to; when out stepped a young man, in white silk stockings, a waistcoat of fine cloth, and an apron about his waist. After having examined whether I was able to follow him, he made me a sign, and began to run on before me. During this race, which was

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from one end of the street to the other, I thought that my guide had interest in view; and therefore I got ready a shilling, which I offered him, upon arriving at the proper place; but he refused it with generous disdain, and taking hold of my hand, which he shook violently, he thanked me for the pleasure I had procured him. I afterwards saw him at the tabernacle of the Methodists.

To take a man in this manner by the arm, and shake it till his shoulder is almost dislocated, is one of the grand testimonies of friendship, which the English give each other, when they happen to meet: this they do very coolly; there is no expression of friendship in their countenances, yet the whole soul enters the arm which gives the shake. This supplies the place of the embraces and salutes of the French. The English seem to regulate their behaviour, upon these occasions, by the rules prescribed by Alexander Severus, to those who approached his person*.

I met with the same politeness and civil treatment at all the public and private assemblies, to which I was admitted. At the house of lords, as well as at the house of commons, a foreigner may take the liberty to address himself to any gentleman, who understands his language; and those who are applied to, upon these occasions, think it their duty to answer his questions. At the first meeting of the house of lords to try lord Byron, I happened to be seated a-

* *Si quis caput flexisset aut blandius aliquid dixisset, uti adulator, vel abjiciebat, si loci ejus qualitas pateretur; vel ridebatur ingenti carinno, si ejus dignitas majori subjacere non posset injuria. Lamprid. in Alex. Sever.*

If any courtier bowed in a cringing manner, or used flattering expressions, he was either banished the court, if the nature of his place admitted of it; or turned into ridicule, if his dignity exempted him from any severer punishment. *Lamprid. Life of Alexander Severus.*

midst a family, as much distinguished by their high rank as their amiable qualities. They all shewed the utmost eagerness to satisfy my curiosity, with regard to the several particulars of this extraordinary spectacle ; to explain to me all that was said ; to instruct me with regard to the origin of the most remarkable ceremonies ; and, in fine, to share with me the refreshments, which the length of the trial made it necessary for them to provide.

When the king came to the house of lords, to give the royal assent to bills, one of the bishops, near whom I was seated, offered to be my interpreter ; and he took upon him to serve me in that capacity, during the whole time I staid.

At the courts of common pleas, king's bench, and exchequer, in Westminster, I seated myself amongst the lawyers; and upon my speaking French to the two next me, neither of whom happened to understand that language, one of them rose, and brought a brother lawyer, who, being acquainted with the French tongue, explained to me the best he could all that passed.

At the play-houses, and other public diversions, I had the same good fortune. Those that did not understand me, were eager to look for somebody that did; and my interpreter, who had taken a bottle of wine with him, never drank without afterwards presenting me with it: I made it a rule to drink, because, having declined the first time it was offered, I was given to understand, that such a refusal was contrary to the laws of English politeness.

It must, however, be observed, that this obliging behaviour is not accompanied with all those external demonstrations of civility, which are customary upon such occasions in France. If an English gentleman, who did not understand me, went in quest of

an interpreter, he rose, and quitted me with an air, which seemed rather to be that of a whimsical humourist, than of a gentleman who was going to do a polite action; and I saw no more of him.

I met with the same civility and complaisance amongst all the shop-keepers, whether great or little. The tradesman sent his son or his daughter to me, who often served me as guide, after having first acted as an interpreter: for some years past, the French language has been taught as universally as the English, in all the boarding-schools of London; so that French will soon be, by choice, the language of the people of England, as it was, by constraint and necessity, under the Norman kings: this is a demonstration, that the antipathy of that nation for every thing belonging to the French is not universal and without exception.

Some visionary people maintain, that this antipathy runs in the blood of the English:

Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas; but it is easy to discover other causes of it, which though they do not justify, render it, in some measure, supportable to the French.

I shall say nothing of those that sprang from the wars and virulent animosity, which animated the two nations against each other, in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries *.

* The remembrance of the injuries which the English had done France, still subsisted in that kingdom, in the reign of Francis the First. The poet Cretin considers an Englishman in the light of an importunate dun; Marot, in that of a hard-hearted bum-bailiff. Book ii. chap. 15. Rabelais represents the first tutor of Gargantua as drunk as an Englishman. The gluttony of the English was become proverbial: Faustus Andrelinus in Anglos derivavit adagium, *Mensa Syracusana*. Erasmus in his proverbs.

In a controversy which was broached about the year 1222, among the students of the University of Paris, the French called their English fellow-students, *potatores & caudatos*, drunkards and lascivious. James de Vitry, the best of our historians of the middle age, has given an account of this controversy in the eighth chapter of his History of the West.

The connexions since formed, between Henry the Eighth and Francis the First, and between queen Elizabeth and Henry the Fourth, as it caused an intimacy between the sovereigns, should likewise have produced a reconciliation between the people, and have cured them of this antipathy: *Quod certaminibus ortum, ultra metum durat.* Vel. Paterc. “ Which, having taken its rise from battles and contentions, lasts after the danger is over.”

Religion likewise contributed to reconcile them, by establishing a brotherhood between the English and the Protestants, who then made very near one half of the inhabitants of France; this subsisted chiefly with respect to the merchants, that is to say, the body of men who had then the most important and lasting connexions with England.

But religion afterwards contributed to separate those whom it had united. Henrietta of France, after some private differences with her husband, king Charles the First, had acquired an ascendant over the mind and the resolutions of that prince: she contributed greatly to encourage him to reject the first proposals made by his revolted subjects; and as soon as they had deprived the king of his liberty, she found herself under a necessity of crossing the seas again, and seeking her security in flight. The behaviour of cardinal Mazarine to Cromwell was, by no means, such, as to give the English, when they returned to their duty, a favourable idea of the ministry of France. Charles the Second, when called to the throne, entered into connexions with Lewis the Fourteenth, which enabled the former to give a full scope to his taste for magnificence and prodigality. England is indebted to this prince for almost all the establishments, which are the most solid foundation of its present opulence, splendor, and strength: it has

has not, however, yet forgiven that monarch the sale of Dunkirk, nor the French the acquisition of that sea-port.

The connexions, which James the Second had with France, before and after he was dethroned, though the event proved advantageous to England, converted to open animosity what till then had been only covert hatred ; and that animosity greatly promoted all the designs of king William against France. These designs were vigorously seconded by the French Protestants, whom the revocation of the edict of Nantz had sent over to England, and who, in their despair, seemed to bite at the stone which had struck them.

The settling of these people in that kingdom furnishes us with one of the most particular reasons of the hatred of the English to the French. The refugees, whether rich or poor, were all incessantly exclaiming against France, against the court, and the jesuits, who had exerted themselves to the utmost, to establish at St. James's, the same authority, which they were possessed of at Versailles. A considerable number of these refugees, being reduced to beggary, and to all the servility and meanness which that humble state either authorizes or suggests, exhausted and tired out the charity of the English, who soon used themselves to consider these beggars as representatives of the whole French nation.

The wars which followed, wars equally obstinate and bloody, have, by reviving old animosities, brought the two nations back to the state in which they had been left by the battles of Agincourt and Poictiers.

London is still a place of refuge for French bankrupts; for criminals, who, through fear of capital prosecution, get out of the reach of justice; in fine, for

for contumacious persons, who fly from punishments, which they have justly incurred: can such people as these give an advantageous idea of their country to the nation that affords them an asylum?

A crowd of sharers and adventurers help to compleat what these fugitives began. Some of these stay in England as long as they can find dupes; others, after having a while exercised their talents there, conclude their course by remarkable frauds: many of them fall into the hands of justice, and suffer the punishment, justly due to their crimes; but a lucky flight saves great numbers of them out of the clutches of their creditors.

A young gentleman of Provence, whose name made a great noise in France, upon occasion of the affair which caused the banishment of the jesuits, had just decamped from London, when I arrived there. He had, during three months, made a figure suitable to the title of marquis, which he assumed: a single night, at the bagnio, cost him thirty guineas, merely to make a shew. He affirmed, that he had the honour of being charged by France with a secret commission. At last, he quitted the kingdom, over head and ears in debt, and left behind him a forged bill of exchange of 50000 crowns, of which he had received 10000: at my arrival in London, this affair made a great noise upon Change, and the French were sure to have their ears constantly regaled with it.

About the same time, two bucks of the first class, having left Paris in the company of a knight of St. Lewis, made their appearance in London*. After having, for about a fortnight, rattled away at a great rate in that city, they returned to Paris, without having seen any thing in London but a few bagnios

* At the head of this little troop was M. B. V. D. C. D. R.
and

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and the public walks, which it was then almost dangerous for Frenchmen to approach. The knight of St. Lewis, who had more curiosity and more sense than his fellow-travellers, escaped from them, on the evening before his departure, and had a view of St. Paul's church by the light of flambeaus. "What an indiscreet people are we!" exclaimed Montaigne: not satisfied with making the world acquainted with our vices and follies by hear-say, we must go to foreign countries to shew them in person."

Considering the frequency of these adventures, the English, who are not acquainted with France, assume from thence, a right to judge our nation: a judgment as rash, as that of the French would be, were they to form an idea of Italy and the Italians, from the quack doctors and itinerant priests that Italy pours out in such multitudes.

To put an end to these prejudices against the nation, it were to be wished, that a passage was to be refused to all Frenchmen, at every sea-port of France, and that the frontiers of Flanders were shut to them; unless they could produce a letter from the secretary's office, giving an account both of the traveller, and of the motives of his voyage. This embargo is established in the sea-port towns; but it is an affair, which concerns the revenue alone; it has been converted into a duty, for the benefit of the governor or the admiralty: all, who pay this duty, pass; and the greater the number of those, who go out of the kingdom, the greater quantity of money does the duty produce.

To the other reasons, which the English have for thinking ill of the French, may be added, the care which the dramatic authors of London take, to insert in all their pieces, at least, one scene, to run down

down the French, and turn them into ridicule, as coxcombs and ludicrous marquisses.

I have seen these marquisses taken off by a little despicable buffoon of a player, whose pronunciation of the French was as bad as his gait was awkward, and whose deportment was as ludicrous as that of any shoe-boy upon Pont-neuf. With this gait, and these airs, he said, in derision of all the marquisses, real or counterfeit, who travel from France to England, “At Marseilles I went by the name of John Farine: here I am called the Marquis de Poudreville.”

Even Mr. * Foote’s little theatre takes liberties with the French. The scene, which I there saw played in derision of the French, passed between a great and a little hat. The great one made a jest of the littleness of the other: the little one rallied the big one, and insisted very much upon its elegance, its taste, and its gracefulness. They then had a dispute concerning their respective greatness and littleness: they concluded by beating one another, and the big one swallowed up the little one.

Two days after I found myself, at Drury-lane, concerned in a quarrel, which might serve to explain that which I have been speaking of. Chance placed me next to a citizen of London, who spoke tolerable good French, and was willing to interpret for me. He had a very little hat; and immediately after the first act, he made me take notice of it. Perceiving what he was aiming at, I, to put an end to his discourse, shewed him my hat, which I had

* At this theatre the principal actor is Mr. Foote, who, in a sort of compting-house, surrounded by wig-blocks, wigs, hats, womens head-dresses, and even making his own head and his periwig part of the Farce, takes off all nations, all conditions, and all states of life, in dialogues, which make the English laugh heartily: it is a sort of a periwig Encyclopædia in action.

bought the evening before in London, and which was cut after the English fashion. Not thinking this addressed to him, he said, it was merely a fancy that made him wear such a hat; that he was not under any necessity of wearing it: and then came on the conquest of Canada. "It is that conquest, no doubt, said I, which has lowered the price of porter amongst you, and made bread so cheap." [Bread was then three pence a pound, and, on account of a tax occasioned by the last war, and never suppressed since, beer was raised to three pence half-penny a pot.] "You are well versed in politics, answered the Englishman; but we have got Canada and beaver." To this I replied, "Before you enter any farther into the discussion of this topic, tell me how you have been a gainer by this conquest; and I will tell you how I am loser by it." He smiled, and returned again to the part he had undertaken, which was, to explain the subject of the tragedy then acting.

In such of Shakespeare's plays as are known in France by translations, we do not meet with that virulence against the French, which, for almost an age past, has discovered itself in all the dramatic works of the English. The French, to whom that author has assigned either capital or inferior parts, appear there in the colours in which history represents them. Shakespeare was a player notwithstanding; he wrote to please the popular taste, and it was for his interest to avail himself of every topic, that could humour their prejudices.

The stage is, in many more respects, the cause of disputes and animosity between the two nations. Is Corneille superior to Shakespeare? or does Shakespeare bear the palm from Corneille? Does Racine or Otway deserve the preference? Which nation has the greater number of original authors? and which

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is most remarkable for plagiarism? *Thrax est Gallina-Syro par?* These questions are constantly decided in favour of England, in all the treatises upon the stage, which have been published in English. Now I am upon the subject of plagiarism, I must observe to the reader, that my Canada Englishman seriously maintained, that the Oracle, which was played as a farce, after the tragedy, which he was so good as to explain to me, was the production of the actresses, who played the principal part in it; and that the French Oracle was only a translation of the English piece. Charmant was performed in this piece by a little man in a great coat, cold as marble, and who had no other way of expressing the emotions of tenderness and perplexity, which are the soul of that part, but by often biting the ends of his fingers.

The prejudices of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, revived by the causes just enumerated, bias the judgments, which the most rational Englishmen pass upon the French. They form an idea of them from those visionary petit-maitres, whom they see represented upon the stage; or from the real French coxcombs, who sometimes shew themselves in London. They see them only on the ridiculous side; and they aid every thing which can contribute to represent them in that disadvantageous light.

It is with this charitable view, they support and nourish the folly of one M. Descazeaux, who went over to London as a poet, and whom they call the French bard, as he styles himself in the title-page of his works, which he is printing, and disperses about in pamphlets. He did me the honour to present me with four of these pamphlets; containing some extempore verses, proposals for printing by subscription three tragedies of his composing, the Magnanimity of Alexander the Great, Turnus,

and the Danaids, with the Portrait of the Duke de Choiseul, and the French Ambassador, &c. but the whole such wretched stuff as to be even below contempt, and to excite rather our pity of such a shatter-brained author*.

The great fondness of the English for the French bard, extended to the Hyena of Gevaudan, which was constantly exhibited in conversation, and in all the public papers, so that persons of the best sense looked upon it as nothing else but a farce, invented by the Westminster scholars to amuse the public: many went so far as to ask me in the most serious manner, whether there could possibly be any truth in that whole affair? They triumphed equally upon the elegant toilets, compleat in all the furniture, which their soldiers have often found amongst the baggage of the French officers †. “ These fellows, said they with a tone of the utmost contempt, have not as much manhood as their grand-mothers.” With all these foolish thoughts in their heads, the English are often unable to retain their accustomed flegm and gravity, upon seeing a Frenchman: when once he has escaped from them, they laugh as heartily, as they before exerted themselves earnestly to detain him. I cannot help adding, that I never saw any Englishman laugh heartily except on such occasions ‡. I diverted myself with remarking the humours of the English, and the force of prejudice even in men of good sense.

* M. de Grosley has given a few specimens of M. Descazeaux's style: but we have thought proper to omit them; as they would not bear translating, so intolerably are they loaded with nonsense and absurdity. T.

† *Interque signa (turpe!) militaria*

Sol aspicit conopeum. Hor. Epod. ix.

‡ And in two others mentioned afterwards, under the article Melancholy.

They even seem to be afraid of seeing those wounds closed, which the wars between them and the French, since the dethroning of James the Second, have left in the minds of the two nations: so desirous are they of perpetuating the memory of them, by monuments destined to resist the injuries of time. The ancients, notwithstanding all their pride and haughtiness, thought and acted very differently in this respect: such was their regard for humanity, that the trophies of their victories were only transient monuments: it was not till the civil wars, that they used marble and brass in them.

England abounds with monuments of the latter sort. Such is the grand piece of painting, with which king William caused the hall of Windsor-castle to be adorned: this piece, which is ten or twelve toises* or fathoms in length, contains a representation of the triumph of the celebrated Black Prince, presenting to his father king John of France and king David of Scotland, his prisoners. The painter has united, within the extent of this picture, those additional circumstances which most contribute to humble and mortify the pride of the conquered, and with which Raphael, Julio Romano, and Le Brun, have heightened the triumphs of Scipio, Constantine, and Alexander. Such is the castle of Blenheim, built for the duke of Marlborough, at the expence of the nation, in commemoration of the victory of Hockstet. Such is the inscription to be seen on the guineas, of which a considerable number were coined in the first year of the reign of queen Anne, at the bottom of whose image is the word *Vigo*, to intimate that these pieces were coined out of the gold of the galleons taken at the port of Vigo.

* A measure of six feet; the king's toise, however, is a measure of seven feet four inches.

The English sometimes cause medals to be struck before the success of the expeditions which gave occasion to them. I have had in my possession a medal, struck in 1741, to inform posterity of the taking of Cartagena, which the English proposed to effect with a fleet, commanded by admiral Vernon, whose image, with a long inscription, was to be seen upon the medal. The admiral appeared before Cartagena, but the enterprize miscarried; and the medal, which is to be seen to this day, confirms the proverbial saying, that “we should never sell the bear’s skin, till we have killed it.”

Westminster-abbey receives every day new monuments of the successes of England in the last war. We there meet with busts of good Carrara marble of the commanders, who most eminently distinguished themselves in it.

The conqueror of the Indies is to be seen there in all the pride of Asiatic pomp and magnificence. His statue, which stands erect, has, on each side of it, a lofty palm-tree, loaded with the trophies and spoils of the vanquished.

General Wolfe, who was killed at the expedition of Canada, where he was commander in chief, will have a monument still more striking and characteristical. I saw a complete model of it, in the sculptor’s work-shop, such as it is to be executed in marble. A grenadier is represented supporting him unarmed, expiring, and reclined upon an antique couch, and, at the same time, slaying him at a distance, Victory, which flies towards him, with a crown of laurel: opposite to this figure, a group of military men and Canadians express, by a variety of different attitudes, the most profound sorrow: the drooping hero has, as a carpet under his feet, a great pair of colours, thrown there at random, part of which falls upon

upon the the monument: upon these colours are represented three flower-de-luces, in the strongest embroidery.

The gardens of Vauxhall, which I shall speak of bye and bye, present to the view, in a great saloon, lately built, and which serves as a porch to the rotunda, four large pictures, which are by no means to the honour of the French. The national antipathy of the English to the latter seems to have raised the imagination and the hand of Mr. Hayman, the painter, above what the pencil of an Englishman is capable of producing. These pictures represent the last conquests of the English in the four quarters of the world. In that of Canada is represented a general, distributing food to the inhabitants of Quebec reduced to the utmost straits by famine, during a siege, which was made very short, by the want of provisions and ammunition of all sorts. A tender and noble compassion are visible in the countenance and the whole attitude of that general.

I was satisfied with a single view of these monuments: I was as short a time about it as possible; but I often saw Frenchmen detained there by charitable Englishmen, who gave them a circumstantial explanation of the whole piece. I heard one of these asking a journeyman sculptor, the meaning of the three flower-de-luces, represented upon the colours, which lay under the feet of general Wolfe: the answer was as disagreeable as laconic, that is, it was just such as should be expected.

Lewis the Fourteenth is the first modern sovereign, who insulted foreign nations by standing monuments of this kind: but they have since paid him in his own coin. Upon a view of these trophies and monuments, we may say, with the Greeks, who when they had subdued the Trojans, lamented their victory:

Fastus pœnasque expendimus omnes.

Æn. xi.

We are all punished for our pride.

The animosity, which is nourished and perpetuated by these monuments, seizes all occasions to shew and make itself felt: it would even proceed to contempt in those, who, being perfect novices in the affairs of this world, do not know how inconstant fortune is in bestowing her favours *.

This animosity did not fail to take advantage of the affair of the chevalier d'Eon, which is unhappily but too well known. It procured him zealous partisans amongst persons of all ranks and conditions, who, under the shew of zeal for the defence of oppressed virtue, harbour a secret design to turn the French into ridicule. This design seems to have deferred shewing itself openly, till sentence had passed against the chevalier at the court of king's bench.

After this judgment had been pronounced, the ambassador of France sent to a public exhibition of productions of the English pencil, a small oval picture of himself, by Mons. Michael Vanloo, who had not exerted his skill in that performance. The directors of the exhibition intended this picture a distinguished place in the most honourable part of the saloon; but they took care to contrast it with a portrait as big as the life of the chevalier d'Eon, drawn in a grand uniform, with a great laced hat down to his eyes, one hand clapped to the hilt of

* *Fortuna sœvo lœta negotio
Et ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos honores,*

Nunc mibi, nunc aliis benigna. Hor. I. iii, od. 29.

But Fortune, ever-changing dame,
Indulges her malicious joy,
And constant plays her haughty game,
Proud of her office to destroy;
To-day to me her bounty flows,
And now to others she the bliss bestows.

his sword, with the air of a Drawcansir, and the other opening a quarto volume, in a blue cover, which contained his memoirs. As often as I went to see this exhibition, I never passed before the two pieces, but all the English present, men and women, were so kind as to let me know, that the large figure represented the chevalier d'Eon, and the little one was the portrait of the French ambassador.

It should, notwithstanding, be remarked by the way, that many particulars, connected with the English manners and customs, and which necessarily result from thence, might be mistaken for effects of this animosity, though they are quite foreign to it, however observers may be imposed upon by first appearances.

Of this nature was the abrupt manner, in which people rose, and quitted me, to seek for a person that spoke French: this was the heighth of politeness; but before I became used to it, I considered it only as an instance of surliness and ill-humour, arising from the antipathy between the two nations.

The French are likewise apt to imagine, that it is on account of their country, they are pushed and shoved in the most frequented streets, and often driven into the kennel; but they are mistaken. The English walk very fast: their thoughts being entirely engrossed by busness, they are very punctual to their appointments, and those, who happen to be in their way, are sure to be sufferers by it: constantly darting forward, they justle them with a force proportioned to their bulk and the velocity of their motion. I have seen foreigners, not used to this exercise, let themselves be tossed and whirled about a long time, in the midst of a crowd of passengers, who had nothing else in view, but to get forward.

Having

Having soon adopted the English custom, I made the best of my way through crowded streets, exerting my utmost efforts to shun persons, who were equally careful to avoid me*.

We should be equally in an error, if we were to imagine, that the English fashions, diametrically opposite to those of France, are contrived in the manner they are, in order to avoid all resemblance to those of our nation: on the contrary, if the former are any way influenced by the latter, it is by the desire of imitating them. A mode begins to be out of date at Paris, just when it has been introduced at London by some English nobleman. The court and the first-rate nobility immediately take it up: it is next introduced about St. James's, by those that ape the manners of the court; and, by the time it has reached the city, a contrary mode already prevails at Paris, where the English, bringing with them the obsolete mode, appear like the people of another world. The little hats, for example, at present so fashionable in France, begin to be wore by the nobility, who borrowed the model from Paris: by degrees the English will come at the diminutive size;

* We meet with a lively description of this bustle and motion in the streets, in the scene, where Plautus describes, after Philémon, the bustle of the port of Athens, and of the entrance that leads to it:

*Plenissimè eos qui adversum eunt aspellito,
Detrude, deturba in viam: haec hic disciplina pessima est;
Currenti, properanti haud quicquam dignum habet decedere:
Ita tres simul res agendæ sunt:, quando unam occuperis,
Et currendum est, & pugnandum, & jurgandum est in via.*

Mercator. act. v. c. 2.

“ Drive those forward, who are coming towards you, push them on, force them into the middle of the street; when you are running on, and when you are in the greatest hurry imaginable, scarce any body will vouchsafe to make way for you: so you have three things at once upon your hands, when you have undertaken but one; you must run, fight, and scold by the way.”

but the great hats will then be resumed at Paris. This holds good in general, with regard both to men and women's apparel*.

I took care to enquire at the Royal-Exchange into the particulars of the treatment, which the duke de Nivernois met with there in his embassy. The Gazette of France made mention of it at the time, and it had very much the appearance of an insult.

Curiosity had led that nobleman to the Royal-Exchange. After he had walked all over it, just as he approached the great gate, leading to the street, it was shut upon him. At this, he discovered some surprize; and the report having spread, that the duke was there, he was surrounded, pressed, and squeezed by the crowd, till he reached the opposite gate, which he found half shut.

Upon this occasion, I was informed, nay I found by my own experience, that the Royal-Exchange is opened before one o'clock; that at two, one of the folding-doors, which opens into the street, is shut; that at half an hour after two, the other folding-door is also shut, together with one belonging to the opposite gate: the folding-door that remains open, is half shut at three quarters of an hour after two, and at three all the gates are locked, so that those, who stay behind till the hour is past, are sure to be locked in till between four and five.

Now it happened, that the duke de Nivernois presented himself at the door, that leads to the great street, just as it was shutting. With regard to the surrounding crowd, I was informed by several bankers, who were then upon Change, that the crowd was occasioned by the general eagerness

* *Extrapelus tonsor dum circuit ora Luperci*

Expungitque genus, altera barba subit. Mart.

Whilst Extrapelus, the barber, shaves the beard of Lupercus, and takes the hair from his chin, a new beard grows in the place of the first.

of the multitude to see a man, who, by his magnificence and affability, had conciliated the affection of the English of all ranks ; of a man, in competition with whom, the chevalier d'Eon would have found no patronage, had he reduced himself to that dilemma ; in a word, of a man, whom England views with the same eye as France, and who, having united the two nations in their opinion concerning him, might carry that union as far as he thought proper :

*Cui, licet impares
Formas atque animos mittere sub jugo.*

MANNER OF LIVING IN LONDON.

THE punctuality, with which they shut the gates of the Royal-Exchange, is connected with the general interest of commerce : it leaves only a limited time to those speculations and parlies, which, without that precaution, would degenerate into idle chat, and never have an end. Those, which are only just begun, they terminate in the coffee-houses about the Change. The banker, the English trader, and the foreign merchants, divided according to their several nations, have each a coffee-house near the Royal-Exchange, as the advocates and attornies belonging to the parliament of Paris have their bench at the *Palais*.

The manner in which the English bankers and merchants live, notwithstanding the care attending a commerce of such immense extent, is the same with that of the lawyers, physicians, and all the citizens in general. They rise a little of the latest ; and pass an hour at home, drinking tea with their families ; about ten they go to the coffee-house, where they spend another hour : then they go home,

or meet people about business: at two o'clock they go to Change: in their return, they lounge a little longer at the coffee-house, and then dine about four. Thirty years ago, two was the hour of dining, and before that one: the hour of going to Change interfered with dinner-time, so that the merchants thought it most adviseable, not to dine till their return from Change. Since this arrangement, dinner concludes the day, and they give the remainder of it to their friends. Acquaintances meet at clubs, formed by connexions of good fellowship or neighbourhood. In summer, the remainder of the day is passed either at some of the public walks, or in a country excursion, if they happen to have a villa near London. About ten at night they go home to bed, after taking a slight repast. In all seasons, the London merchants generally retire to the country on Saturdays, and do not return till Monday at Change-time.

Inferior dealers, and even mechanics themselves, imitate this manner of living, as far as in them lies: in the month of May, the shops and warehouses are not opened till about eight o'clock. Mechanics, of the lowest sort, even journeymen themselves, carry English independence still farther: nothing, but want of money, can compel them to work. If they are obliged to do business, they, as it were, fight with their task: they go to it like madmen, and like people enraged at being constrained to labour. They chuse rather to toil in this manner, with all their might, and to rest themselves from time to time, than to pass the whole day gently and easily in their employ. The business is carried on the better for this ardour of the artificer: this appears evidently, from the perfection of all English manufactures, whether

of

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of steel or needlework. The taylor, in his shop, the shoe-maker, &c. either is at work, or rests himself: he is seldom seen to trifle away his time in singing or whistling.

The perfection of handicraft-work, and the love of liberty in the lowest class of artificers, contribute equally to render English manufactures very dear. In vain has the state attempted to diminish this excessive dearness, by laying such heavy taxes as render it impossible for them to have money beforehand: they enter into associations, they refuse to work, they revolt; and obtain an increase of their wages, when the latter become insufficient to enable them to live as usual; and this is always a great burthen upon trade.

COMMERCE AND MERCHANTS.

BANKERS and merchants, who have most business upon their hands, do not confine themselves constantly to their compting-houses, except the two foreign post-days. The idle time, which this procures them, amazed me at first; but my surprize ceased, when I was given to understand, that they, by no means, keep the same number of books as the French and Italian merchants. As they enter upon business with that spirit of order and regularity, which characterizes their nation, simple minutes sufficiently enable them to transact the most important concerns.

The offices of the secretaries of state, and of the several departments dependent or connected with them, are not so numerous in England, nor filled with such a number of clerks, as in many other countries. If business had been transacted in the Roman empire, composed of large provinces, which are now become kingdoms, with the same tedious formalities as it is at present conducted in the different states of

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Europe, it seems problematical, whether Rome and its suburbs would have been able to contain such a number of offices.

The debt-book, which an English merchant carries always in his pocket, often contains a greater number of objects than our largest volumes. Add to this, that commercial affairs do not so much depend upon the pen as the head: the greatest gains are next to the greatest risks: a great risk is run in every thing; and the merchant, who is concerned to the value of a hundred thousand pounds, may, by a variety of chances, which he bravely encounters, see his fortune, in the space of a single day, either doubled or utterly ruined.

These debt-books are the chief basis of the opulence and grandeur of the nation: it is these that cover the seas of the four different parts of the globe with ships; it is these that occasion wars, and enable the nation to bear them; it is these, that triumph at prosperous events, and that, in times of public calamity, repair misfortunes, and keep the conquerors in awe *.

The English merchant, considered in this point of light, is just what a famous French farmer of the revenues [Samuel Bernard] caused himself to be represented in a print, the engraving of which is an ornament worthy of the choicest cabinets. In this print, the farmer-general is represented with one

* *Meres profundo, pulchrior evenit;*
Luctere, multâ proruit integrum
Cum laude, victorem, geretque
Prælia conjugibus loquenda.

Horat.

In ocean plunge them, up they buoy more bright;
At arms oppose them, they shall rout your train;
In force united, and approv'd in fight,
With total ruin on the busy plain,
And battles wage, to be the future boast
Of their proud consorts o'er our vanquish'd host.

hand upon a tetraqueous globe, and giving with the other his orders to vessels, which set sail for different ports.

The English merchants, however, have books fit to be laid before the magistrate, who sits at Guild-hall to take cognizance of contests between traders; but these books are kept in a summary way, without any useless repetition or superfluous detail. Every banker, every merchant, has, generally speaking, a partner, whose only business is to keep his books, and take care of his accompts: the principal person in the partnership superintends the business. These departments are regulated not so much by the greatness of the capital, as by ability and intelligence. They have likewise their apprentices; but notwithstanding this apprentice-fee is so high, and notwithstanding the services, which may justly be expected from these youths, during the seven years of their initiation, bankers and merchants of the first class continue to take them only, when they cannot well avoid it.

The apprentice being generally some rich man's son, who gives to the amount of a thousand pounds with him, either applies diligently to business, or he neglects it. In the former case, he will acquire a compleat knowledge of the state of my affairs, and, when he has served out his apprenticeship, he will avail himself of that knowledge, to his own emolument, and my prejudice. In the latter, I shall have a useless person in my house, who will only disturb those that mind my affairs: but the merchants prefer this second case to the first; and, for this reason, do not require the apprentice to do any business; so that, to the great satisfaction of his master, he spends his whole time in taking his pleasure.

In other stations and conditions of life, in virtue of a law of Henry the Eighth, abrogated by queen Mary, and revived by queen Elizabeth, apprenticeships require the same time. They often commence at the age of fourteen, and end at the twenty-first year, which in England is the time that concludes minority, in persons of all ranks and stations in life. They are proportionably expensive; and in London the apprentices compose a numerous body, which has frequently had some influence in the state. They constitute the second order in a city, where the first is formed by the merchants and artifans, divided into companies, and endowed with privileges, which they take care to secure and extend at every revolution.

These companies have all of them annual officers, chosen out of the body, whose police they preserve and maintain. They have twelve principal bodies of citizens, which are the same thing at London as the six bodies at Paris. These are the mercers, grocers, drapers, fish-mongers, goldsmiths, skinners, merchant-taylors, haberdashers, falters, iron-mongers, vintners, and cloth-workers; these trades compose the twelve companies, out of which the lord-mayor, that it is to say, the chief magistrate of the city of London, is annually chosen.

He has a palace, attendants, and equipages, the magnificence of which seems to suit a sovereign. He keeps open house, and, upon certain occasions, gives entertainments, at which the king is sometimes present. His jurisdiction is of great extent, and, in many cases, there lies no appeal from it. Finally, he has such an influence on the city of London, as more than once has alarmed the crown, and been productive of the most important revolutions. In a word, the lord-mayor of London has more of the

appearance, and, even of the real power, of a prince, than the sovereigns of many petty states. It, however, sometimes happens, that the person chosen to fill that important office, declines it: in which case, he is obliged to pay down a fine of one hundred marks.

The court has only a very remote influence on the election of this magistrate, which is often made in a manner diametrically opposite to its views. The kings of England themselves sometimes contrive to be enrolled in one of the twelve companies abovementioned. King William, when he was prince of Orange, was made member of that of the drapers. When the city of London, in imitation of the example set by certain Greek republics, is for honouring with its freedom any foreigner of distinction, he is obliged to get himself enrolled in one of the twelve companies. The duke of Brunswick, who, in the last war, served England so well in Germany, has lately been honoured with this distinction, which his services so richly deserve. After a grand entertainment from the city of London, on receiving his freedom, in a golden box, he chose to be made a member of the grocers company, to which the lord-mayor at that time belonged. The leaders of the opposition in parliament, though often men of the noblest families, are ambitious of being free of the city, as that freedom is a pledge of mutual attachment between them and the people. The renowned patriot, lord Chatham, has likewise been enrolled in the grocers company.

London was formerly inhabited by merchants and trades-people only; the nobility came up to town, as to a kind of fair well provided with inns, where they were to stay but a short time; before

they began to build those fine houses, the number of which increases daily. The change, which this occasions in the natural state of London, will necessarily be followed by essential alterations in its political state.

The latitude, with which the English merchant and banker transact their own business, does not prevent their observing the most scrupulous exactness in their dealings with others. A banker, to whom a bill was brought to be accepted, having taken a pen, and signed the initial letters of his name, happened to cast an eye upon his books; finding, that he owed nothing to the person who drew upon him, he scratched out those initial letters, and refused to accept the bill. The affair was debated, and determined by merchants upon change in my presence: the decision was, that he, who signed the initial letters of his name upon the bill, had accepted it, and was obliged to pay the money. They even went so far, as to affirm, that he would have been equally obliged, if he had only made a verbal promise to accept it, or, if he had taken the pen, in presence of witnesses, to sign the acceptance, though he might have changed his mind afterwards. "Forms, said the merchants who decided the point, are punctually to be observed: we must either strictly conform to them, or place implicit confidence in each other's honesty."

I shall not enter into a long detail, concerning the present state of commerce, and of the English manufactures. All that can be advanced upon that subject has been already exhausted in books, which are well known to the public. These manufactures, which are now in so flourishing a condition, owe their origin to the persecuting spirit, which banished them out of France, and before that, out of Flanders: "The duke of Alva's successes having

removed all opposition to his will, he endeavoured to render the inquisition more rigorous than ever, and gave it himself the appellation of the *Bloody Council*; insomuch, that he banished from Flanders the best artificers and manufacturers, who, retiring to England, settled themselves in the cities of Norwich, Gloucester, &c. upon which the towns of Flanders were drained of inhabitants*." The revocation of the edict of Nantes has since proved equally advantageous to England.

A N N U I T I E S O N L I V E S .

FROM the lowest citizen to the first nobleman in England, all ranks and conditions furnish matter for speculation. The duke of Bedford publicly deals in annuities for life, which have had such ill success in France in the hands of certain noblemen and governors of hospitals, at least, with regard to lenders†. The only risk in these loans in France turns upon the death of the lender. But in England they risk at every thing: money is, with equal readiness advanced upon the life of the lender, the borrower, or of any other person. A man, who has a place or employment, is desirous of insuring bread to his wife and children, and with this view, lends

* D'Aubigné, Hist. Univ. in the year 1570, l. v. chap. 33. M. de Thou, l. xlix. p. 618.

† In the tenth century, the Gallic church invented this commerce, with regard to its funds, by the title of *Precarious Contract*. By resigning their lands, &c. to the church, &c. the owners retained the usufruct for life, and received double the value in the church's money. Those, who gave up the usufruct of the estate, received still greater advantages, the threefold value of it. This commerce was afterwards introduced in Italy, and greatly contributed to make all estates in land fall into the hands of ecclesiastics. The troubles of those times rendered all property so precarious, that the least covetous possessors of estates were thereby determined to enter into these fatal contracts.

money upon their lives and his own ; during his own life he will receive but one per cent. but, at his death, his wife and children will touch twelve, fifteen, and twenty per cent. : this may either happen the very day after the loan, or never, if the lender should live to bury his wife and children. The danger is anticipated by lending upon the head of the father of the lender, or the father of the borrower. Loans of this sort are sometimes limited to five or seven years, on condition of paying an interest, proportioned to the shortness of the time, and the danger of losing both principal and interest, if the person upon whose head the money has been lent, does not live the five or seven years. It is chiefly with noblemen, who launch into extravagance, that such contracts are entered into ; a resource, which the nobility of other countries, who are for hastening still faster to their destruction, are deprived of ; but whether for the public benefit or not, I will not pretend to determine. A local reason gave rise to those contracts in England : the estates of almost all the great families are entailed ; and, in virtue of this regulation, the children of the deceased, or the next heir, immediately take possession of these estates, without being liable to pay any debts of the deceased. If a nobleman is obliged to mortgage his estate for the payment of his creditors, they receive no benefit from it, but during his life-time.

Besides these risks, it is always to be feared, lest the above contracts should be laid before the courts of judicature, which, being attached to their old principles and methods of proceeding, frequently reject or condemn them as palliatives to extortion and usury.

The English have the register of all speculations on these subjects, in the celebrated treatise of Mr.

de Moivre *, upon annuities for life; here are tables, which shew, at one view, the value of lives, whatever may be the interest of money." This treatise was first published in the year 1729. The author has since given a more full and complete edition of it, in 1743. It is now become a sort of code of loans, and life annuities, which has rendered them exceeding common.

The bank of England is a kind of a thermometer in all commercial affairs; its rising or sinking accelerates or retards them. This is the strong box of the whole nation; a strong box, to which the king has no key. The funds belong to numbers of individuals. Some politicians would be glad, that it was under the care of the parliament; which, say they, would greatly increase its credit, and render business much easier to transact. Whether it was for this reason of public interest, or on account of views of private emolument, they were in hopes of some advantage accruing to the state from the renewal of the charter, which authorized the establishment of this bank, in 1694. The famous Mr. Law took from hence the model, which he began to work upon in France: but an attempt to make such an establishment in this kingdom is like planting a vineyard in England.

Bank-bills are engraved upon paper as thin as a spider's web, insomuch, that it appears almost impossible to expunge or alter a word in them: care likewise is taken to print the sum written at full length. Notwithstanding this circumspection, frauds are committed; but this affects the person only, into whose hands the bill is fallen: the bank pays no

* A French refugee, born at Vitri in Champagne.

more than the sum entered under such a number in its books, upon presenting the bill.

If the Dutch chuse rather to place their money in this bank, at three per cent. than at five per cent. in France, upon the royal loans, it is not so much on account of the security of the funds, as of the invariable certainty of payment. Besides, as they have much less commerce with France than with England, they are far better acquainted with the paper-credit of the latter kingdom.

Proper measures seem to have been taken by the English, to prevent every connexion and correspondence in business between them and the French. Such merchandize, as is the product of France, or its manufactures, is entirely prohibited, or loaded with duties, the enormity of which is equivalent to an express prohibition. Certain drugs and medicines, prints and books, bought at Paris, by the surgeon, with whom I came from Dover to London, paid at the custom-house three-fourths of the money they cost; and, with regard to the sum, the surgeon's word was taken. But commerce is like water, which is making continual efforts to come to its proper level; and, if it be prevented from gaining this level openly, it finds it underground. France ever did, and ever will find, a sure remedy against English prohibitions, by its contraband trade; a remedy the more effectual, as the English have the same prejudices in favour of French manufactures, which the French have with regard to those of England: with this difference, that whilst England draws articles of importance from France, such as wines, silks, &c. she supplies the French in return with nothing but trifles of little or no value*.

* We should not confound with these trifles, the tobacco, which the farmers-general get from England: this branch of trade

I have heard it affirmed, even by merchants themselves, that good hats or good stuffs, whether silk or woollen, are made only in France; that English hats suck in the water like sponges; that the English silks are mere paper; that their woollen stuffs are as stiff as pasteboard; and that their lace is like papier-maché. The ladies have still a more disadvantageous idea of them: an English lady, that has the good fortune to procure a French silk gown, is sure to eclipse all the belles in company, especially if that gown has been made at Paris.

If to these caprices, we add the cheapness of work in France in comparison to the dearness in England; together with the proportionable profit resulting from thence to the English merchants; we shall be convinced, that, if public interest produces a necessity for the most rigorous prohibitions of French commodities, private lucre can find a thousand ways to evade and bid defiance to these prohibitions. Contraband trade furnishes the means: it is carried on by stratagems and cunning, and sometimes with an intrepidity proportioned to the greatness of the profit attending it. Carriages to transport merchandize of this sort, and magazines for depositing it, are easily found. The little Isle of Man, which lies almost at an equal distance from England, Scotland, and Ireland, was, with regard to this contraband trade, the same as Dombe in France had been during many years. This island, in which horses and all sorts of animals are very diminutive, in comparison to those of the three kingdoms abovementioned, belonged in full sove-

procures millions to England, since to prevent an inconsiderable contraband trade, the farmers have stopped the passes of Alface, and destroyed the plantations of Clerac, Tonneins, &c. The English approved of this measure the more, as war itself does not interrupt those supplies, now become indispensably necessary.

reignty

reignty to the house of Athol, which constantly rejected the most advantageous offers for it by the crown *. The bargain was, at length, concluded, just when I arrived at London: the parliament of England, by paying down 70,000 l. sterling, has deprived the contraband traders of their securest magazine, and their most commodious and useful factory. But avarice, which goes in quest of merchandize to the Indies, will always find means to procure it from a country within a day's sail.

It is to the difference of the price of labour, that the commerce of France owes its principal advantage over that of England: an advantage chiefly derived from the different value of money. It is not so much the numerary quantity which determines this value, as the estimation of the current interest: the dearness of specie has, in this light, the same effect as its scarcity. Hence, if money were as abundant in France as it is in England, far from diminishing and reducing the rate of interest, the advantage of the manufacturer would require that this interest should be kept upon the present footing. I leave it to others to explain this paradox, which I give the reader as I had it from English bankers.

I will even suppose England to be richer than France in current coin, because all the specie coined at the Tower of London, since Charles the Second inclusively, circulates in trade; whereas the bulk of the present numerary money in France is partly formed of the specie coined in the reign of Lewis

* One of the judges, that tried Charles the First, and had just been pardoned by Charles the Second, happening to be in the Isle of Man, was there seized, by order of the dutches of Athol, who, at that time, possessed the sovereignty of the island. He was brought to a trial, and condemned to suffer the punishment inflicted upon such as are guilty of high-treason, though king Charles the Second interceded in his behalf.

the Fourteenth; a specie, which has supplied materials to the new coinage in the latter part of that prince's reign, and that which was made in the time of the regency.

Be that as it will; when I saw in London the guineas of Charles the Second, and king William, upon the same footing in commerce with those coined at present, I could never conceive the nature of that operation upon the coinage, which was said to be superintended by Sir Isaac Newton, whom queen Anne had appointed master of the mint. The case is, doubtless, the same with this operation as with many others, whose importance has been equally vaunted: it reminds us of the floating sticks in the fable*.

The flourishing state of trade in London appears from the wealth of the merchants, from the rapidity and immensity of the fortunes made by it, which may be compared to those acquired by the management of the finances in other countries. We may form a judgment of these fortunes from that of Sir Thomas Gresham, who built and endowed hospitals, and erected the Royal-Exchange, at his own expence. The statue of that knight is to be seen in one of the four porticos within this great edifice. In that which runs parallel to it, there is a statue of Sir John Barnard, who lived in our times, was reckoned a very great patriot, and acquired a considerable fortune by commerce.

These fortunes, either immediately by titles of nobility, with which the kings of England, since Charles the Second, are disposed to honour them, or indirectly by marriages, produce the same effect in England, which wealth amassed in the finances does in other countries. They re-establish ancient families, and

* See La Fontaine,

form a great number of new ones. Scarce are these new families formed, but they think themselves upon a level with those of the most antient nobility, who, far from being ashamed of commerce, frequently bind their younger children apprentices to merchants.

Further, in consequence of the œconomy required by a most extensive commerce, and the attention and care inseparable from mercantile concerns, the great merchants are trained up in principles as favourable to the raising of a new family, and to the public manners of a commercial state, as the spirit of financiers is dangerous both to the public and to individuals.

In their dealings, most citizens are at a word; and when they have named their price, you must either take the goods or leave them. They have borrowed this custom from the Quakers, and find it exceedingly convenient in dispatching business: for a child may in this case make any purchase, as well as a man thoroughly acquainted with the prices of the goods.

A reputation for honesty so facilitates the means of making a fortune, that merchants of all countries are led to declare themselves to be of those sects, which profess strict integrity, and a rigid purity of manners*. The lower sort of people, who are always imposed upon by external appearances, make a scruple of bargaining with a man of God, whose probity, integrity, and holiness are attested by all the principal persons of a party, of which he is the chief sup-

* *Cupiditatum quisque suarum religionem habet velut pedissequam.* S. Leo ad Theod. "Every man makes religion a sort of a hand-maid to his inordinate desires." This was, without doubt, explained in the Pater-noster mentioned by Rabelais, in the catalogue of books belonging to St. Victor's library.

port. The sons of this man of God * shut up shop, and enjoy, in an opulent succession, the fruits of the hypocrisy of their father, and of the internal homage, which he always paid to the goddess Laverna †.

I learned with astonishment, that, in England, a considerable share of commerce is, by public authority, the object of monopolies. Such are the India and Hudson's bay companies, &c. with regard to a capital part of foreign trade. There was great talk in London of suppressing these companies; but the private interest of almost all who have a vote at their meetings, prevents this extinction. These companies have no ships of their own; and this they look upon as a great advantage, both to themselves and the navy in general. They freight vessels when they have occasion, and often at a very small expence. The crew are supported by those who fit out the vessels: the only persons on board belonging to the company, are the supercargo, the clerk, and captain, whom those that fit out the ship might reject, but they generally admit them.

London is said to be furnished with different provisions, as fish, &c. by monopolizers of the same sort. England is likewise supplied with hemp by another company, which has an exclusive privilege for vending that commodity. As societies, which undertake things of this nature, have occasion for considerable funds, the means, by which they procure them are beneficial to all the stockholders, and the advantage accruing to the public from thence equally increases the common funds of the nation.

* It is above all, with respect to saints of this sort, that the promise is fulfilled: " Seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all those things shall be added unto you."

† The goddess of gain.

The motive, or rather the pretext, for taking these measures is, the fear, lest England should not have sufficient supplies of provisions for her own subsistence, and the support of her navy. From hence, in my opinion, results the following inconvenience.

The undertakers, who know exactly the quantities requisite for present consumption, furnishing themselves only according to the rate of that consumption, keep provisions always at the price they chuse, that is to say, at the highest. They maintain, that the nation is a gainer thereby; and thus they prove it. “If, say they, every English merchant had it in his power to furnish himself with commodities immediately from abroad, the quantity imported often exceeding the consumption, provisions would become exceedingly cheap; which, as it would ruin individuals, would do the nation the utmost prejudice, by sending into foreign countries a great deal more money than they draw from companies, which, by the exclusive privilege, are enabled to set a price upon the commodity, and to fix the quantity to be imported. If, continue they, provisions grow dearer to the English, who are the consumers; at least, the profit, which thereby accrues to the company, does not go out of England.”

Gain, in an extensive commerce, like that of England, is generally the result of profound combinations, and well-digested speculations; but there are very considerable gains, which are entirely due to chance. A clerk belonging to the India company, preparing to sail from the Indies to England, could not, at his last voyage, get forty guineas from an indigent creditor, otherwise than in a sort of reeds, made use of in chairs and lattices, which no merchant cared to take off his hands. The clerk, who was obliged to take them, distributed them

them in bundles on board the company's vessels, amongst chests of tea and other merchandize, which must be carefully packed up. Thus they passed, without paying either freight or duties. The company thanked him for his attention; and the clerk, having gathered together all his reeds, sold them for 1700 guineas.

The love of humanity, under the direction of an enlightened policy, has, since the reign of Charles the Second, established an expedient in England, the first idea of which was borrowed from the Jewish law: this expedient, at the expence of a few merchants, supplies commerce with hands, and often with heads. The king passes in parliament an act, by which all insolvent debtors are cleared. An act of this sort passed both houses, during my residence in London. By this, a prodigious number of insolvent debtors, confined in the English prisons, were set at liberty. Such an act had not passed for seven years before, that is the term generally required for an act of insolvency; but it was thought the king would have passed it sooner, on account of the birth of his eldest son, in 1763.

The nature of English commerce, the great dearness of provisions, and the manner of living, with the price of labour in that kingdom, increase the number of insolvent debtors, and occasion frequent bankruptcies. They generally meet with generous and humane treatment from their creditors, when it appears evidently, that the bankruptcies are owing to misfortunes, and not to any fault of their own. In any case whatever, a bankrupt is secure as to his person, by fairly giving up all his effects, without concealing any part.

The English are not yet acquainted with the art of contriving a fraudulent bankruptcy, by making use
of

of the form established in France to prove the crime, and bring the delinquent to justice, as a weapon against their creditors. When there is any suspicion of a bankruptcy's being fraudulent, the public is at the expence of prosecuting the offender. It bears the charges of the whole prosecution; and the creditors are not obliged to double their loss, from a necessity of being parties in the affair. Some relaxation and indulgence have in other countries been granted in this article, for the advantage, as it is said, of commerce; this relaxation is dated precisely at the time, in which the author of *Telemachus* declared for the severest punishments of bankrupts, whom he considered as guilty, with respect to society, either of mismanagement of the money with which they were only entrusted for a time; or of a negligence, in its consequence as fatal as the worst mismanagement.

With regard to common debts, executions reach only the body, and not the goods, in virtue of the law of *Habeas Corpus*: their effect is suspended, as well as in criminal cases, by giving security; and where that cannot be procured, they are put in force against all persons of whatever station or rank. If the debt exceeds forty shillings, the creditor may have the debtor arrested in his own house; but the officers employed to seize him, are not allowed to force open his door. All sorts of stratagems, however, are lawful, in order to get into his habitation. These artifices constitute a part of the trade of the sheriff's officers: they seldom miss their aim, when they are well paid. The goods of the debtor are not liable to be seized, except in the case of bankruptcy.

England is not afraid of being overstocked with inhabitants. One of the most noted members of parliament,

ment, happening to speak in the house of commons, concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits from France and Portugal, expreffed himself to this effect: "I wish they would all come over to England*: they would bring with them the means of living and supporting themselves: at leaft, they would bring with them their hands."

It is in consequence of this way of thinking, which is general in England, that the famous father la Valette was received in that country, after being banished from Martinico. I have seen, at Hammersmith, the house, which he occupied almost two years. He lived there with French Jesuits, who served him as factors and clerks, and did the duty of confessors and chaplains amongst the Roman catholic inhabitants of the place. He there began trade, being supplied with money to carry it on by the Roman catholics. He, at laſt, broke for 80,000 l. ſterling; and a ſmall number of creditors withdrew, at the right time, the ſums they had deposited in his hands. The French ambaffador lost 4,000 l. by this bankruptcy. The Jesuits, who were in partnership with father la Vallette, quitted his reverence, ſaying all the ill of him they poſſibly could: whether they were really of that opinion, or ſpoke in confequence of an agreement between him and themſelves.

The views of the English, with regard to population, render it an easy matter to obtain letters of naturalization, which, perhaps, will be, at laſt, ex- tended to every one, that comes to ſettle in the Bri-

* His prayer has been heard: the Portuguese and French Jesuits have repaired in crowds to England, where they have joined the English members of their ſociety: they carry on their intrigues in concert, againſt the powers by whom they were perfeſuted.

tish dominions. The treasury will lose its right * of escheat, and certain duties upon merchandize; but these rights or claims have one common origin, and should have ceased with those, which adjudged to the owners of lands, situated by the sea-side, the goods of such as suffered shipwreck; and yet these rights, to the disgrace of humanity, made an essential article of the law of nations all over the world.

A religious sentiment, directed by interest and avarice, first established this claim to the goods of shipwrecked persons. People considered them in the light of men proscribed and devoted to death, of men who wanted to fly from the divine vengeance. In many countries, the judgment denounced against them, by heaven, was fulfilled by sacrificing them, with all the pomp of ceremony: in all countries, priests and temples were enriched by their spoils †. In after-ages, they were confiscated to sovereigns, or to the lord of the manor; and in places less civilized, the first that seized had a right to possession. The emperor Antoninus, however, renounced them, so far as regarded the imperial treasury, by a law, the very terms of which discover the tenderest sentiments for humanity ‡: *Si quando naufragio, so the law runs, navis expulsa fuerit ad littus, ad dominos || pertineat: fiscus*

* The right of escheat, the origin of which, its champion Bacquet, could only trace up to the feudal tyranny, was unknown to the Asiatics, till Nasser was calif, that is to say, till the thirteenth century. It even escaped the covetousness of a multitude of conquerors, who neglected nothing to enrich their treasury. "This exaction, says Khondemir, an Arabian author, is the only blot on the reign of that prince." *Hist. of the Califs.*

† Thus men, through a principle of religion, renounced the first principle of the law of nature: *alteri non feceris quod tibi fieri non vis.*

‡ *Nunquam fisci causa mala, nisi sub bono principe.* Plin. Paneg. Traj. The claim of the treasury was never overlooked, except under a good prince.

|| That is, the owners of the vessel.

*meus non sese interponat. Quid enim jus habet fiscus in aliena calamitate, ut de re tam luctuosa compendium sectetur**. “ If a ship happens to be driven ashore, and wrecked, let the cargo be kept by the owners: my treasury shall never lay claim to it: For what right can the treasury found upon the misfortune of another, or why should it seek to enrich itself on so melancholy an occasion.” In spite of this law, the custom † still subsisted: it never ceased till admiralties were established, which perpetuate them, nevertheless, to the utmost of their power. But let us resume the subject of escheats, of which England would long since have deprived the treasury, to increase its strength, and the true riches of the nation, if the emolument, which these duties procure to those at the helm, left them entirely free in this respect.

All the French refugees were naturalized in the reign of king William. It was proposed, in the last parliament, to invite the Jews over to England, by a favour of the same sort. The motion met with

* In the code, lib. ii. tit. 5. it is falsely ascribed to Constantine.

† It had been abrogated by a law of Henry the Second of France: a law, which, like all the other wise ordinances of that prince, was rendered useless by the troubles, which took their rise in the reigns of his sons, and lasted a long time after. *Antiquam & humanam circa naufragos consuetudinem, in ipsis regni sui initiis, eximiā pietate correxit. Hujusmodi hominibus ab æquoreo discrimine libertatis, humanitatis officium exhiberi præcipiens, graves in eos pœnas sanxit qui forte illis in aliquo molesti esse, vel de rebus eorum quippiam usurpare præsumerent.* Gul. Neubr. de Henrico II. l. iii. c. 26. He, in the beginning of his reign, with great piety, reformed an antient inhuman custom relating to shipwrecks. He gave orders, that the duties of humanity should be performed to those, who escaped the dangers of the sea; and ordained severe punishments against such as should presume any way to molest them, or take any thing belonging to them.”

great opposition, and has never since been determined*.

The last parliament passed hundreds of acts of naturalization, in favour of all that desired them; and particularly of many Frenchmen, who, having considerable possessions on the continent of America, and in the islands ceded to England by the last treaty of peace, were obliged to take that course, in order to secure to themselves the property and enjoyment of those possessions.

During my residence in London, the parliament was passing every day some of those acts, that are deferred till the latter end of the sessions; when an elephant, kept in the queen's stables, happened one morning to be walking in St. James's park. An Englishman, meeting it, inquired, "Where the elephant was going?" "No doubt, it is going, said a merry wag, to the parliament-house, to get itself naturalized."

Were it ever to happen, that residence in the dominions of Great-Britain should be sufficient to entitle to naturalization, and all the privileges of citizens, such a regulation must be big with mischief to the neighbouring states, if they persist to retain their antient forms: they will be a barrier against the return of those, who have once settled in that kingdom, or, at least, of their descendants. But these forms will be struck out of the general law of Europe; as the slavish tenure of villanage, and many other such institutions, have been abolished in France; institutions, which owed their origin merely to the barbarism of their authors, to the ignorance of such states as bore with them so long, and to the private interest of persons at the helm of government.

* An act was passed for the general naturalization of the Jews; but soon after repealed. T.

T H E C O L O N I E S.

THE English colonies are the chief source of the riches of the kingdom, because the English planters do not, like most of our French colonists, labour and toil with an intention to return, and live upon their gains in the mother country. The English Creoles, being settled for life in America, improve their fortune to the utmost, live in the English taste, and make a great figure in their equipages and rich furniture. Boston, the capital of New England, has above five hundred coaches; and they look upon it as a piece of grandeur to have a Negro for a coachman.

All the money in those colonies passes over to England, by means of purchases and commissions, and the whole wealth that remains with them is in bills; a strong tye, to keep them dependent on the metropolis; but a tye, which will last no longer than it continues to be voluntarily and easily borne, especially when the English colonies are settled upon the footing to which they aspire, and which England will perhaps one day repent having forwarded. They have lately made a first essay of their strength, in the affair of the stamp-act.

The inhabitants of the English settlements in America were, in 1740, computed at four millions of souls. Every twenty years since that æra, the number has been doubled. The increase of inhabitants is the more sensible, as every new planter, and the son of each planter that marries, begins, with building as good a house as his circumstances permit. This increase of population in the colonies is not made in prejudice of that of the three kingdoms: Ireland,

in particular, has, within these last fourteen years, received an increase of fourteen thousand families.

If this progression continues in the same proportion with regard to the colonies, is it to be supposed, that England will long retain its sovereignty over countries, the extent of which, since the last peace, is but little short of that of the Roman empire; countries, in which, consulting prudence less than her present interest, she causes vessels to be built, arms of all sorts to be forged, and all the mechanic arts to be introduced?

The English are encouraged in this respect, by the distance of their colonies from each other, which do not appear contiguous, except upon the smallest sort of maps. Situated at the mouths of rivers, the most convenient for navigation, they will not, says the mother country, of a long time, be able to second each other.

Whenever this time comes, and even before it comes, England will not find in its colonies the submission which it hopes to meet with, except it regulates its conduct towards them by the example of the Greek metropolises. The great cities of Greece exercising over their colonies neither dominion nor sovereignty, but considering the inhabitants as brethren and children, not as subjects *, protected them, prescribed laws for their conduct, and appointed magistrates for their government: they flew to assist them against foreign enemies; they were always ready to avert or to extinguish their intestine divisions; in a word, they reigned only by reason and good offices, over a people, in whom gratitude and attachment supplied the place of dependance and submission. The Greek

* Οὐ γὰρ ἵππι τῷ δελτοῖ, αλλ' ἵππι τῷ ὅμοιοι εἶναι ἐκπίμποιται. Thucyd. lib. ii. For they are not sent over to be slaves, but to be in a state of equality with those that sent them.

colonies, united with their metropolises by sentiments like these, were their strength, their support, and their glory. They were ready to give them any assistance in their power, whenever they stood in need of it; and that even without being applied to: they often bore the whole weight of a war, which continued as long as the metropolis thought proper. Commerce had first given rise to these settlements: it was the strongest support of them: thus the metropolises were indemnified for the expence they had been at in armaments for their defence.

The Romans proceeded upon very different principles in the establishment of their colonies. They formed them without any view to commerce, and always as near to each other as they could; they were so many bulwarks, equally formidable to the nations already conquered, and to those which were still to be subdued. Ever comprised within the limits of the empire, they were subject to all the claims and rights of sovereignty: rights, of which the taxes, imposts, and contributions, real and personal, made an essential article. To this let us add, that the principal colonies enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens; that they had a right to vote in the assemblies of the people; and that they supplied Rome with knights, senators, consuls, and emperors*.

In tracing out the principles and motives, which influenced the conduct of the Greeks and Romans, with respect to their colonies, when we weigh them, and observe their effects, England will there find the rules, which she ought to observe, in order to derive

* *Gaudebant eā civitate cuius imperium armis tuebantur, & quod suorum militum manu in id fastigium provenerat.* Vell. Pat. lib. iii. c. 15. "They enjoyed the freedom of that city, whose empire they defended by arms, and this because it was raised to that exalted dignity by the hands of their soldiers."

from her colonies all possible advantage, and to secure her government in those parts from all danger of revolutions.

In the Interests of England Misunderstood, a work published by the abbé Dubos in 1703, and at present thrown amongst the crowd of fugitive occasional pieces, we meet with a prediction *, concerning the fate of the English colonies, which is of so extraordinary a nature, that I shall here cite the whole passage.

" When, says the abbé Dubos, the whole continent of North America shall belong to England, when she has planted that country, at the expence of her own population, how will she behave to this new state? Will she suffer foreigners to carry on trade with it? Will she leave her American subjects free from the taxes, which she pays herself, to govern themselves by their own laws, in contempt of the acts of parliament passed at Westminster? Will she allow them to cultivate their manufactures, and trade with foreigners? If she observes this conduct, she will derive but little emolument from her colonies: foreigners alone will be benefited by them; and the only effect of her new conquest will be, the depopulation and solitude of the mother country.

" In order to derive from this conquest advantages, capable of indemnifying England for what it cost her, it would be necessary to cause the navigation-act to be observed there; to forbid the inhabitants to cultivate vines and olives, or to establish any sort of manufactures; in a word, English America should be settled upon the plan, and

* Page 148, of the second edition, which came out in the year 1704, from the Royal Printing-house, though said to be published at Amsterdam.

according to the principles, left by Philip the Second for the regulation of Spanish America.

" But to attempt to lay so heavy a yoke upon so flourishing a country, two thousand leagues distant from its masters, and peopled by inhabitants with English heads, would be reducing it to a necessity of shaking off the yoke: not wanting the power, it would soon have the will; and, to effect this purpose, the English Creoles would, for a time, join the native Americans."

The abbé Dubos then strengthens his conjectures: 1. By the manner, in which America was planted by the Spaniards; and that, in which it will be peopled by the English: the former, arriving there only in small numbers, accustomed themselves to the rigour of the laws, which they found established; the English, entering the country in a body, as it were, will be more sensible of that rigour, and have it the more in their power to avoid it. 2. By the different degree of attachment, which the English and the Spaniards have to their sovereign. " Who has not heard of the proverbial saying, that the king of Spain is a king of men; and the king of England, a king of devils?" The abbé Dubos cites this proverb from Molesworth's Preface to his State of Denmark*. 3. By the different ideas of subordination, with which the respective religion of each country inspires the inhabitants: it is by priests and monks, that Spain governs its settlements in America. 4. Finally, by the difference in the national dispositions of the Spaniards and English: patience and good sense are the characteristics of the Spa-

* This quotation does not seem to be quite fair: lord Molesworth is far from approving the proverb; he says, that England does not deserve the character of *regnum diabolorum*, so common in inconsiderate foreigners mouths. T.

niards ; the love of novelty, turbulence, and audacity, have distinguished the English in all ages.

The same author concludes, by predicting the downfall of the English empire in America in ten years.

On the other hand, every thing promised stability to the French settlements in that country; if the secret connexions between Catharine de Medici and Spain had suffered her to second the project of the admiral de Coligni, which he began to put in execution in the year 1557. He had formed a resolution to plant a colony in America, to introduce the Reformed religion there, and, by opening an asylum, to secure many distressed and unfortunate Protestant families from the persecutions kindled in France*.

The ocean, which separates the old and new worlds, extinguishing that animosity, which is unavoidable between two opposite parties in the same country, would have preserved France from the horrors of a civil war. The strong attachment, which the French have to their country, would have kept the new inhabitants in a state of dependence upon this kingdom : the desire of making a figure, a desire which is equally congenial to their nature with the former, would, by degrees, have restored to France, and to the established church, the chiefs of the most opulent houses. Thus would this kingdom have necessarily become a staple for the French trade to the new world; and their manufactures, which, by revocation of the edict of Nantz, were removed into foreign countries, would still have belonged to France.

All circumstances concurred to facilitate this project : 1. The republic of Holland had, at this time, no existence; and perhaps she would never have existed, had it been

* D'Aubigné, Hist. Univ. l. i. c. 16.

pursued. 2. The English had then no intention of making any settlement in America: the expeditions, which their fleets sailed upon, had no other view, but to molest the Spaniards, and enrich England at their expence. Who even knows, whether the French settlements, increased and strengthened to the degree, which they might have attained by constant migrations, would not have insensibly encroached upon the whole continent of America? National hatred, excited and spurred on by the diversity of religion, pointed out the Spaniards as natural enemies to the French Hugonots; enemies, whose power bore no proportion to the extent of their possessions:

Nimium vobis Trojana propago

Visa potens, superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.

If the project of the admiral did not produce the great effects that might be expected from it, we should perhaps account for this, by the principle laid down by M. de Sully; “that French head-pieces are not made for remote possessions:” thus did that minister express himself in a letter, dated February 26, 1608, to the president Jeannin *. The truth of this principle has been demonstrated, in a number of successive expeditions, very like this first. Durand de Villegagnon, a gentleman of Champagne, who was at the head of it, carried thither fanaticism, which was the peculiar folly of that age, with ambition and avarice, follies common to all ages and nations: follies, which, by a continual clashing, defeated the admiral’s views upon the new world†.

It was nothing but fanaticism, which first gave rise to the English settlements. The most brilliant

* The president Jeannin’s Negotiations.

† See an account of this expedition, by de Lery, in the Ecclesiastical History of Beza, and the Writings published by Villegagnon, in vindication of his conduct.

of these colonies was founded by the sect, which differs most from the church of England. Can English patriotism defend them against the attacks of ambition and avarice? Time will shew us (and, according to the calculation of the abbé Dubos, that time is not far distant) whether English or French head-pieces are best calculated for remote possessions.

EXPORTATION.

THE sums paid by the state, to encourage the exportation of English commodities, have carried that of corn to a height, which would be inconceivable, if the merchants had not the address to export a considerable quantity of the grain, which they get from the north of Europe, amongst the English wheat. But, even granting this, the quantities exported, especially of late years, surprized me the more, as in the counties of England, through which I travelled, upon my way either to London, Oxford, or Portsmouth, I saw scarce any thing but commons, meadows, large parks, wilds, heaths, and very little arable land. It is true, that the lands, leased by rich farmers, are extremely well cultivated; the plow sinks deep into the furrows, and cuts its way, as it were, of itself, whilst the labourer is under no necessity of aiding the action of the plow-share. It is also true, that the English spare no costs to manure their grounds; for which end, they employ a great quantity of marle; and the land, in consequence, yields every sort of product that can be expected from it; which proves, that it is not so much the extent of ground, as the manner of cultivating, which makes the true opulence of the proprietor and the farmer. Nevertheless, it is not so much

much the plentifullness of harvests, as the small consumption of corn by the English, which enables them to export a great quantity of corn.

In fact, six or seven ounces of bread are sufficient for the daily subsistence of an Englishman; and that even among the lower sort. They, properly speaking, live chiefly upon animal food; and their beer furnishes them with a substantial and nourishing drink.

In 1764, Italy was reduced to the utmost extremity by famine; and the want of corn was severely felt in Spain; by the peace, France recovered possessions, which it was an advantage to England to supply with provisions before it restored them: in a word, the English would fain supply both Europe and America; and they were the more eager to do it, as they perceived, that the French were ready to fill the vacuities, which might be left in the several branches of that lucrative commerce. They acted like the Welch of M. de Voltaire, who sell all they have with the utmost expedition, at the hazard of being obliged to buy it again within three months at a very high price; or like certain savages of America, who sell their beds in the morning, and forget that they shall want them at night. These hazardous efforts, followed by a bad harvest, had exhausted England to such a degree, that, during my residence in London, bread was sold for four pence a pound; and so great was the scarcity of corn, that, if the English had happened to take the same liking to bread as the French, the three kingdoms would have been made desolate by a famine in less than eight days.

And yet the parliament did not seem to be under any anxiety upon this account. The people ascribed this unconcern either to a monopoly, in which they affirmed the principal men in the nation to have embarked, or to a design of sending off part of the people

people to the colonies. In fine, when I left London, the parliament, at the close of the sessions, had just permitted the importation of foreign wheat, and even French corn, for a limited time. In consequence of this permission, I found several vessels in the French ports, laden with corn for England. This importation met with great difficulties from the navigation act, which England looks upon as its palladium; and, notwithstanding the critical conjuncture, they had not dispensed with the severe laws of that act: on the other hand, corn could not be exported from the ports of France, except in French vessels: but are any difficulties unsurmountable to interest and necessity? By means of certain measures, previously concerted, the vessels, which set sail as French-men, from the ports of France, entered the English harbours as Englishmen.

The sums of money, which accrue to Great-Britain from the exportation of corn of its own growth, are owing to the speculations and constant efforts of cultivators; a species of men or business unknown to all the other countries of Europe, and to England itself before the seventeenth century. Persons of all ranks and conditions have in England attached themselves to this branch of trade, which they carry on with good sense and assiduity.

THE NOBILITY CONCERNED IN COMMERCE.

GENTLEMEN of fortune, even some of the greatest distinction amongst them, are entirely busied in the cultivation of their lands, and the several means of turning them to the best advantage. True it is, that the laws of ancient heraldry, which are common
both

both to France * and England, formerly permitted, and still permit, poor gentlemen to till their own lands; but they would have looked with a jealous eye upon a gentleman in easy circumstances, had he applied himself entirely to husbandry.

Luckily for England, these laws, and the consequent prejudices against commerce and industry, are now succeeded by notions of a contrary nature. This revolution in the minds of men is one of the happy effects of the civil wars of the last century.

Almost all the nobility, being attached to the catholic, episcopal, or regal parties, was exposed to the fanatic rage of the enemies and usurpers of supreme authority. These noblemen, being excluded from all civil and military employments, ruined by a thousand vexations and oppressions, under the public sanction, had no other way of providing for their children, except by national and foreign commerce.

The fortunes made this way raised a great many noble families to their primitive opulence: this contributed to diminish the prepossession against trade, and, at last, totally eradicated it. Thomas and Richard Walpole, nephews to the celebrated Sir Robert, minister under George the Second, are, one a merchant, and the other a banker, in London.

These gentlemen, and such as tread in their steps, have partners, clerks, &c. to superintend the detail of their business. In this respect, they think and act like the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, like the family of Medici, the Strozzi, the Spinolas, and the heads of the grandest families of Venice, Genoa, Florence, Milan, &c.

* At the convoking of the ban and rear-ban of the bailiwick of Troyes in Champagne, in 1407, many gentlemen made their appearance to declare, according to the verbal process of that convocation, *that they lived like gentlemen, upon the tillage of their lands.*

This conduct of the nobility was favoured by an ancient law of Edward the Second or Third, whereby every citizen, possessed of land to the value of 20*l.* per year, was obliged to get himself admitted *knight* (*miles*) in the sense given to this word by the authors of the middle age. James the First, and after him Charles the Second, caused this obsolete law to be revived. Their aim was, to get money, without the concurrence of parliament. By this law, which was a pecuniary one originally, a person raised above the rank of burges, and admitted among the gentry, owed the king and the state his personal service: it was pursuant to this plan, that Solon distributed the several classes of his commonwealth: rank was settled according to the different degrees of fortunes, as in the Roman republic*.

The barbarians, who subverted the Roman empire, had imbibed contrary principles: principles, which are still laws to Europe, notwithstanding the precepts and examples of the greatest sages among the ancients. If, in pursuance of these examples and precepts, the rank of noblesse were granted to every proprietor of a certain quantity of land; sovereigns † would enrich their dominions by favouring cultivation; would become opulent themselves; would put a stop to the disputes about the title of gentility, assumed daily by rich people; and, in a

* *Si quadrigenitis sex septem millia defunt,
Plebs eris.*

Horat.

† In the summons of the arriere-ban, that is, of those vassals, who hold of the king by a mesne tenure, as it is cited above; and which makes a part of the titles of a family, which sprung from Troyes; mention is made of persons, who have declared, “ That though they had, till that time, lived like plebeians, they proposed, for the future, to follow the armies, serve the king in person, and live like gentlemen;” in consequence of which resolution, they were admitted to take the military oaths.

word,

word, would break the shackles, with which a false prepossession has loaded the noblesse.

No sooner were those shackles broke, but the civil war of England forged new ones, for which it may justly lay claim to applause: they have abolished the frenzy for duelling and single combats. The Puritans, the Independents, the Levellers, and other enthusiasts, who composed the army of Cromwell, had no learning or knowledge, but what they derived from the Bible: finding no examples of single combats in that book, they held them in the utmost abhorrence, and as an invention of Antichrist; hence the prohibition of them, under the severest penalties, was one of the first objects of Cromwell's attention and solicitude*. The Roman catholics, attached to the royal party, retained the practice; but, the prejudice against them being adopted by the majority, these duels were scarce ever heard of; and this is one of these greatest advantages, which England reaped from fanaticism.

The stage will compleat what religion began: no opportunity is there neglected to turn duels into ridicule, and make those who fight them appear contemptible. The point will be the more sure to be gained, as this frenzy is, by no means, conformable to the English character: it prevails only amongst the nobility, and some gentlemen, who, in their travels, have adopted foreign manners.

England was a long time, like the rest of Europe, governed by the laws, which, in certain cases, enjoined single combats: they are the subject of the second book of the great work of Glanville De Leg. & Conf. Angliae sub Henric. II. The resolution of

* The English have from the same source derived their prejudice against financiers, and the order of financiers: they view them with the same eye, with which Christ beheld the publicans.

sovereigns had confined this practice within the bounds of the law, which no individual durst transgress, and which was to cease by its abrogation. This abrogation has insensibly brought the English to the same way of thinking, in this respect, with the Greeks*, and those Barbarians who were known to that nation: perhaps their example will, at last, induce the rest of Europe to follow it.

Every Englishman almost, whether artisan, merchant, or farmer, that has raised a fortune by his industry, or lives upon his paternal estate, takes a pride in dying rich, in having a pompous funeral, and in making a will, which, by the extraordinary manner of bequeathing his fortune, may spread far and wide, in the public papers, the fame of his opulence: this is their way of enjoying it. During my stay in England, the whole kingdom rung with the report of a legacy of a very considerable amount, left to Mr. Pitt, by a country gentleman, Sir Robert Pinsent, who, though no way related to that minister, gave this mark of regard for his political abilities.

C L U B S.

I have already given the reader an idea of the customs and manners of the inhabitants of London, by describing the life led by merchants and ban-

* The oration of Demosthenes against Midias presents us with a passage, which seems to shew, that duelling was equally unknown to Greeks and Barbarians. "Would you persuade me, says the orator, that it is more brave and generous, to bear with injuries, and even to respect those from whom we receive them, as the Barbarians are accustomed to do, than to repel them with the arms, which the laws put into our hands?" Προσκυνεῖν τὸς οὐεὶς γολας, ὀσπεῖ
τοῖς βαρβάροις, εὐαμύνασαι, νο τισονέαται.

In Midiam, Ed. Francof. p. 450.

kers; and, at the same time, took occasion, to make mention of their coteries or clubs.

The establishment of these clubs is owing to the English character, which must perpetuate the custom. They are held amongst friends, who, having contracted an intimacy in their early days, and experienced each other's fidelity, are united by a conformity of tastes, schemes of life, and way of thinking. These meetings fully gratify that desire, which every man has to associate with his equals.

“ You Frenchmen, said they to me, are too diffipated; your conversation with men is too general; you see too many persons and things, to have leisure to digest your reflections: so extensive a society resembles stagnating waters, from which there issues out no stream.”

Affairs of interest and religion are considerably interwoven with their private connexions, which Addison has admirably described in his Spectator, where we find clubs of hump-backed men, stammerers, &c. Their fundamental statutes turn upon all the most important duties of friendship. I have been assured, that when the members of some of these clubs happen, upon a sudden emergency, to be distressed for money, the purse of every individual of the society is immediately opened to them. It even sometimes happens that wealthy persons leave all they are worth to some member of the club. Associations of this sort often unite different religions: but they can never reconcile those, who espouse opposite parties in politics: so true is the observation of one of our greatest moralists, “ that there are few friendships, which do not partake of the nature of a cabal*.”

There are regular clubs, which are held in coffee-houses and taverns, at fixed days and hours: wine,

* Nicole's Miscellaneous Thoughts, No. 93.

beer,

beer, tea, pipes, and tobacco help to amuse them at these meetings. There are others kept at the houses of persons of fortune: they meet in turn at the apartments of the several members, if they are bachelors; and even if they are married, in case their wives have no objection to it. He, at whose house the club is kept, supplies the members with refreshments.

Most of the public societies have a president, who is chosen either by plurality of votes or by ballot, for a limited time; at the expiration of which, they proceed to a new election. The president's seat is at the upper end of the table; and his chair, somewhat more elevated than those of the other members, is adorned with some embossed figure, relative most generally to those objects, which engage the attention of the members.

Strangers, and Frenchmen above all, are excluded from these assemblies, without particular recommendation: and then they meet with all that respect and easy reception, so much preferable to ceremony and compliments. I was admitted to a club, consisting of clergymen, physicians, and lawyers; and likewise frequented by lords, and other persons of distinction.

The members were seated round a large table, on which stood bottles of several sorts of wine, tea, coffee, and every thing necessary for convivial jocundity. Each member drank which he liked, and in what quantity he thought proper: the master of the house had nothing more to do than produce a fresh supply of liquors, as soon as the bottles were emptied.

As I was quite unacquainted with the English language, the different members of the club exerted themselves to the utmost to speak French. They

placed me between two gentlemen, one, who understood it pretty well, and the other but indifferently: the former answered my questions, and I replied to those which the latter asked me concerning France or the French language. The conversation, at these meetings, turns upon a variety of topics, each of which continues as long as the company have any thing to say upon it; and the person who speaks has no fear of being interrupted. A new comer enters the room quietly, takes the first seat he can get, as near as possible to the person who is speaking; or he places himself behind the company, after having saluted them with a nod, which those, who are near him, return: those who go away, save both themselves and their neighbours the trouble of this salutation.

The present topic is not always preparatory to that, which comes next upon the carpet: they are often separated by an interval of silence, more or less considerable, all present looking upon each other, and reflecting upon what they have heard. This silence is interrupted, either by a renewal of the same conversation, or by something, which has a connexion with it; and often by starting another subject, totally different, and to which they make a sudden transition.

When, in the midst of a conversation, or at a pause, any of the company happened to sneeze, I saluted him according to the custom of France; but I was given to understand, that, since snuff came into fashion, sneezing is no longer taken any notice of; and that to salute a person, who makes use of snuff, is like complimenting him upon the colour of the hair of his wig.

Amongst men of learning, artizans, and clergymen, public affairs generally furnish the subject of conversation; every Englishman gives as much attention

tention to these matters, as if he were the prime minister: and this is the case even amongst the lowest class and country people. Pleasurable and gay conversation is unknown to these societies: the English find no relief from reflection, except in reflection itself; they have no other means of amusing themselves; and gaming gives them pleasure, only by affording them an opportunity to reflect.

Amongst different gaming-clubs, suited to the taste and abilities of those whom they bring together, there are many, at which the members play very deep. At these societies, where the members are chosen on account of their love of gaming, reflexion never forsakes even those, who are the greatest losers: their losses leave no traces on their countenance. I was shewn a piece of English pleasantry, occasioned by one of the most destructive of these clubs: this was a large English scutcheon, filled, according to the laws of heraldry, with several symbolical representations of the games most in fashion: the crest was a hand, holding a large dice-box, with the name of the nobleman to whom it belonged.

The English, who are profound thinkers, violent in their desires, and who carry all their passions to excess, are altogether extravagant in the article of gaming: several rich noblemen are said to have ruined themselves by it: others devote their whole time to it, at the expence of their business, their repose and their health. A minister of state passed four and twenty hours at a public gaming-table, so absorpt in play, that, during the whole time, he had no subsistence but a bit of beef, between two slices of toasted bread, which he eat without ever quitting the game. This new dish grew highly in vogue, during my residence in London: it was called by the name of the minister, who invented it.

Even the lowest class have their clubs. The earl of Chesterfield told me of one, which meets twice a week at the Robin Hood in Butcher-row. The president, who happened to be a baker, is seated in a sort of desk or pulpit, and portions out time by an hour-glass to masons, carpenters, smiths, and others. They sit three hours: each member has five minutes allowed him to speak; at the expiration of which, the president stops him by the knock of a hammer. This club is, to use an Italian phrase, of a semi-public form. All sorts of people are admitted; I myself was favoured with a seat for six pence, and had a pint of beer into the bargain. Public affairs, and even religious topics, equally claim the attention and speculations of this meeting, at which the subjects that occasion most debate in parliament are often discussed. Sometimes they make very shrewd speeches: I could, however, form no judgment of them, not having been able to find a person to interpret for me: I was satisfied with observing their gestures and grimaces, which were highly diverting.

Women could never gain admittance to these clubs: this they compensate by private coteries of their own, in which, as we are told, they also talk politics. To convince me how much this taste for politics is general amongst the English, and even amongst the women, I was informed, that lord Tyrconnel, who had been educated in France, came first over to England, when he was in the thirtieth year of his age. Being perfectly acquainted with the language, he visited the English, and listened to their conversations, both at their own houses, and at the clubs where they met. Tired of hearing nothing but politics during two months, he invited some ladies of pleasure to sup with him at a bagnio; but scarce had

had they sat down to table, when the conversation turned upon a subject, which was then under parliamentary debate, and highly interesting to the nation. The ladies adopted different sentiments. In vain did Amphitryon endeavour to change the discourse, and to make them talk of subjects more pleasing and agreeable: they persisted to talk politics: he quitted them in a passion, and made haste back to France.

Gentlemen, that meet to dine together, form a sort of clubs. The conversation does not begin to grow interesting, till the dessert: then the cloth is taken away, and several sorts of wines are brought upon the table; the women having retired, and the room being furnished with a certain necessary utensil, they lean upon the table with their elbows, drink about, and settle the affairs of the nation. This drinking about which lasts an hour or two, is called toasting*. The conversation is interrupted by drinking

* This custom, peculiar to the English, is of an ancient date in that country. In the Life of St. Wulstan, William of Malmesbury informs us, that the good bishop, *Cibi & potūs abstinens erat, quamvis in aulā ejus, pro more Anglorum, totis post prandium biberetur horis, cum quibus ipse assidens psalmos ruminabat*: *ordine tamen suo se bibere simulabat Hauriebant alii spumantes pateras: ipse minutissimum vasculum tenens, eos ad hilaritatem invitabat, magis consuetudini patriæ, quam judicio satisfaciens animi.* Pontificum Engl. Gest., l. iv.

"He was very abstemious, both with regard to eating and drinking; though it was customay, for those admitted to his table, to drink, according to the English practise, for many hours after dinner; with whom, he being seated, said the Psalms to himself, yet pretended to drink in his turn. Others quaffed foaming bowls; he himself, holding a little cup in his hand, excited them to chearfulness, rather in compliance with his country custom, than because he, in his own judgment, thought it right."

The same writer had observed, that in England, before the Norman conquest, *Potabatur in commune ab omnibus, in hoc studio, noctes atque dies perpetuans;* *que crapula servituti homines partiamque pessum dedit.* "They all spent their days and nights in public revelling and drinking, which made them and their country an easy prey to a foreign invader."

* In old French, the word *Grignotier*, or *Gringotter*, is used in the same sens.

to the health, both of the present and the absent; amongst which, those of the statesmen and the beauty most in vogue hold the first place.

Now, that I am upon the subject of these healths, I must acquaint the reader, with the opinion of the English, concerning the first rise of this custom, which the Scotch Highlanders have preserved in its original purity. Those people, who are still but half civilized, and who live in eternal discord and faction, on account of the quarrels of their chiefs, and the enmities which those quarrels perpetuate in families, are sometimes united by feasts and merry meetings. Drinking to a person's health, at these feasts, means, that you request him to guard you whilst you are drinking. In consequence of this tacit intreaty, the person, whom you drink to, replies, "I will pledge you," or, *I will answer for it*; draws his dagger, fixes it on the table, and continues upon the watch till you have drunk off your glass, and laid it down. This rudeness of manners and behaviour is, without doubt, the highest pitch of barbarism; *Tollite barbarum morem, fodales!* exclaimed Horace, speaking of a custom, which had nothing of this barbarity in it. It obtained in France notwithstanding, if we may judge by the ancient expression, *Je vous pleige*, [I pledge you,] made use of by our ancestors in returning this health: this was the very same form of words made use of by the Scotch Highlanders: perhaps it was even attended with the ceremony of fixing the dagger on the table, at the time of the wars between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, and at other unfortunate periods, during which the French were in the same rude state as the Scotch Highlanders are at present.

There are assemblies in London, where both sexes meet: such are those, which are held upon certain days

days by ministers of state, ambassadors, and personages of the first rank. Such were the balls subscribed to by a particular company, who meet on stated days, or rather nights; but the middling sort of people have no share in these tumultuous pleasures, which are as foreign to their taste as to their manner of life.

The pleasures of Vauxhall and Ranelagh unite both sexes, and all ranks and conditions. These entertainments were begun about thirty years ago. Ranelagh-gardens, distant about half a league from town, are of a considerable extent, but remarkable for their variety and fine illumination; in the midst of these gardens is a rotunda, or a round saloon, of about an hundred and eighty feet diameter, capable of containing five or six hundred persons. In the centre, there is a chimney, supported upon four pillars, and a brasier, with four faces, on which the different beverages are warmed for the company. This brasier diffuses less heat than that of a stove, and emits a brilliant lustre: it is the centre of motion, and the sanctuary of this elegant temple. Sconces of a vast size, and rows of lamps, distributed through the hall, form the rest of the illumination. Opposite to one of the fronts of the brasier, is an amphitheatre composed of seats, gradually rising above each other; and here a band of excellent music is employed the whole evening, in playing grand symphonies, and pieces both of Italian and English composition, alternately. The inside of the saloon is divided into three stories. The first, adorned with pillars, is distributed into boxes, all furnished with a table and seats for ten persons: at the farther end, you see a large figure in fresco, which serves as a sort of sign to the apartment. The second order,

formed of pilasters, is cut into galleries, which correspond with the boxes upon the ground-floor: before these galleries, there are moving lattices, by means of which, one may see and enjoy all the pleasure of the place unperceived. The third is a simple Attic order, with windows equally distributed, which by day give light to the saloon. The fireplace is surrounded in a circular manner, with four rows of tables and different benches, for the convenience of the company. At these tables, as well as in the boxes, they can have coffee, tea, chocolate, bread and butter, in what quantity they think proper, paying half a crown at their admittance.

Imagine to yourself the saloon, amphitheatre, boxes, and galleries, all filled with company, and, on the ground-floor* a multitude of persons walking in every direction; the murmuring of this crowd, drowned by a continued symphony; the whole illuminated with a milder gleam than that of day: you will easily conceive, that there are few objects more striking.

Nothing is wanting to enliven this entertainment compleatly, but dancing, which the continued symphony seems to require; but this exercise one would suppose little suited to the taste of the English, who chuse rather to walk round and round, till their heads turn. As they imagine, perhaps, that dress is an essential to dancing, they find it more agreeable to forego the amusement, than to be under a necessity of quitting their favourite undrefs. In this easy at-

* Directed by the leering eyes of a groupe of females, I one night discovered, amongst the crowd, an old officer in his regiments, leaning upon a young man. Examining the face of the officer, and that of the young man, I thought I saw the old, drunken, voluptuous Anacreon, walking with his minion, Bathyllus: and, I find, that England has its Anaceons and Bathylus's,

tire, ladies of the first distinction are accustomed to frequent Ranelagh: and as it brings them near a level with the citizens wives, the uniformity of appearance gives that air of freedom and ease to the whole assembly, which is the constant concomitant of equality*.

Vauxhall is as near to London as Ranelagh. Its saloon, of the same form, is much less considerable in extent; but it has the porch I have already described, which is wanting to compleat the magnificence of Ranelagh. Besides, the gardens, in the centre of which it stands, and which are illuminated throughout, are more extensive than those of Ranelagh. The band of music has likewise its orchestra, but it is in the garden; and the boxes for the company are scattered about, in the form of the Chinese kiosques. The admittance costs a shilling; but the company may be provided with a supper, and the whole is paid according to an advertisement fixed upon the door of the saloon.

These entertainments, which begin in the month of May, are continued every night. They bring together, as I have already observed, persons of all ranks and conditions; and amongst these, a considerable number of females, whose charms want only that cheerful air, which is the flower and quintessence of beauty. These places serve equally as a rendezvous, either for business or intrigue. They form, as it were, private coteries: there you see fathers and mothers, with their children, enjoying domestic happiness, in the midst of public diversions.

The English assert, that such entertainments as these can never subsist in France, on account of the

* When our author was in England, the undress of Ranelagh corresponded with that of Vauxhall; but the ladies now rather make a distinction, and generally appear dressed at Ranelagh. T.

levity of the people. Certain it is, that those of Vauxhall and Ranelagh, which are guarded only by outward decency, are conducted without that tumult and disorder, which often disturb the public diversions of France. I do not know, whether the English are gainers thereby: the joy, which they seem in search of at these places, does not beam through their countenances; they look as grave at Vauxhall and Ranelagh, as at the Bank, at church, or a private club. All persons there seem to say, what a young English nobleman said to his governor, *Am I as joyous as I should be?*

Yet, when we compare the splendor and magnificence of these places, to the wretched appearance of both houses of parliament, of the courts of justice, and even of the king's palace; a foreigner would be tempted to think, that the English, supremely fond of pleasure, consecrate the whole grandeur and magnificence of the kingdom to that favourite idol.

H O R S E - R A C E S .

T H E R E are other pleasures, in which the English allow themselves an unlimited indulgence, and which they take with the same serious air as the former: I mean, Cock-fighting and Horse-races. These diversions are carried to a pitch of madness, by waging great sums of money. Many gentlemen of fortune ruin themselves by these pleasures, of which I had a specimen at Epsom; where a considerable number of the inhabitants of London, and all the neighbouring gentry, were assembled on the occasion. I saw, with the utmost astonishment, how greatly the spectators of all ranks seemed to interest themselves in

Cock-

Cock-fights, which, after all, are no more than childrens play *.

Horse-races are more interesting to men ; and especially to men, who, like the English, have a great fondness for these animals, study their constitutions, and, in a manner, live with them. The taste for Horse-races made antient Greece illustrious : it was one of the chief subjects handled by their greatest poets : it made a capital article in those festivals, that contributed to give that superiority of knowledge and valour to Greece, by which it was so long distinguished from the rest of Europe.

The course at Epsom is in the midst of downs, intersected by three hills in parallel lines : in the vales between these hills, the champions entered the list. Several of the spectators came in coaches, which, without the least bustle or dispute about precedence, were arranged in three or four lines, on the first of those hills : and, on the top of all, was a scaffolding for the judges, who were to decree the prize. This scaffolding was the goal, which bounded the race ; and the starting-post was at the head of the outer vale of the second hill : four horses, starting from thence, ran in this vale about the length of a mile, turned round by the next hill, to the height of the starting-post, and, at length, reached the hill, on which stands the scaffolding ; where he, that came in first, was declared the victor. The prize is not adjudged till after three heats ; and to him only, who has won two out of three : if he be so successful as to win the two first, the third is dis-

* These cock-fights, and bettings, are, notwithstanding, of a very ancient date ; nations most celebrated for the politeness and suavity of their manners, have often engaged in these sports. See *Gamerar. Var. Histor. I. v. c. 9.*

pensed with; which was what happened at the race, where I was a spectator.

There are neither lists nor barriers at these races: the horses run in the midst of the crowd, who leaves only a space sufficient for them to pass through; at the same time, encouraging them by gestures and loud shouts. The victor, when he has arrived at the goal, finds it a difficult matter to disengage himself from the crowd, who congratulate, carefs, and embrace him, with an effusion of heart, which it is not easy to form an idea of, without having seen it.

The deference to the victors is not confined to these transient homages. All the houses of country gentlemen, all the inns, are lined with pictures of horses, painted or engraved, in various attitudes of strength or agility, with an account of the victories they have won, their names, those of the jockeys by whom they were trained, in fine, those of the noblemen to whom they belong, and from whom they met with all the care and tender treatment, that favourite children can expect from a parent.

So great was the crowd, which covered the place, where the horses ran; that I could not see them, except upon the ridge of the second hill. They kept upon the full stretch, without rising or darting forward; and appeared to me to resemble wooden horses, that had been fixed in full stretch, upon the rim of a great horizontal circle, moving round upon its axis, with the utmost rapidity imaginable.

These race-horses, resembling, in this respect, many persons of merit, do not shew their worth by their outward appearance; they are quite gaunt and meagre; and the awkward manner of stretching out their necks deprives them of all their beauty, the principal of which, in a horse, is, to hold its head in a graceful attitude.

This

This breed of horses furnishes the English racers, so highly esteemed. The preservation and multiplication of them is owing to laws, enacted by Henry the Eighth; and to prizes, established in different parts of England, for the victors at races: in short, this breed of horses is the same thing, with respect to that species of animals, as gladiators were, with regard to the human species, amongst the ancient Greeks and Romans.

These races are not, like those of Barbary horses at Rome, and in other cities of Italy. Each race-horse is rid by a jockey, who is, generally speaking, only a common groom, that has not the least share in the honour of the victory: this is divided between the horse and the owner. The horses are sometimes mounted at races by noblemen, who are willing to run the risk. They are less exposed to the danger of falling, bruising themselves, or dislocating a limb, as happened to a young nobleman at his first race at Newmarket, than to be deprived of respiration, by the velocity of the motion. In order to cut the air, the groom, who is almost totally inclined upon the neck of the horse, holds the handle of the whip fixed before him, or shakes it before his mouth.

Before the race begins, the jockey, the saddle, and whole furniture of the horse, are weighed in presence of the judges; and care is taken, that all the horses, admitted to run, be equally loaden.

Victory is often due to the knowledge, which the jockey has of his horse; and to the direction, which he gives him, by spurring him forward, or managing him properly. In the two heats, which decided the prize at Epsom, the horse, which first reached the goal, was outstripped when I saw him upon the eminence.

The English in general have a degree of friendship and affection for horses, which few men shew even to their own species. They seldom or ever strike them; and the long switch, which coachmen and carmen carry in their hands, is rather to direct them by signs than by blows: they seldom even speak to them, except with a gentle and affectionate tone of voice.

The horses of gentlemen of fortune, both in town and country, generally speaking, die in the stable, where they were born: they are treated like old friends, who, when advanced in years, are taken care of, in consideration for past services. There are few, seldom any, but good horses to be seen in London: even the hackney coachmen have tolerable good cattle*. But it is in the operation of shoeing them, especially in the country, that the care taken of these animals most eminently displays itself. A farmer goes with his horse to a farrier, ties it lengthwise to a ring, careffes it, takes off his coat, puts it upon the head of the beast, in such a manner as to cover its eyes, and, holding it by the head, continues to talk to it, and careffs it, as long as the operation lasts. The farrier shews as much tenderness for the beast as his master; he soothes the horse, speaks to him, lifts his foot gently from the ground; and, after having given the leg and thigh a motion of rotation, which made me think at first, that he was going to set a dislocated limb: he held the foot with one hand, and, without the least emotion, performed the operation with the other.

* Most of them act both as *fiares* and *remises*; that is, they are hired by the hour, or the day: when they are hired by the hour, they have a number painted upon a plate of block-tin; when they are hired by the day, the number is taken off: they are drawn by the same horses; and when they are out of London, they go at the rate of thirty leagues a day.

This tender treatment renders horses both tractable and friends to men : the ardour and fire, with which they are animated, do not in the least diminish their gentleness of temper. During the session of parliament, I saw, with pleasure, in Westminster, amidst a number of the finest horses in England, crowds of children playing with the dumb animals, and the latter returning their caresses, to the great satisfaction of the coachmen. During the long sittings of the house, they are seen diverting themselves, pawing the ground, as if they wanted to gather up something, and performing this motion with all the slyness and nimbleness of a cat.

The shops of farriers are not known in England by the travise, which gives so much torture to unruly horses : the gentleness of those of England renders this unnecessary. None are tied up within the shop, but those that make a difficulty to submit to the operation.

The tenderness of the English for their horses does not prevent them from making them work hard : the little, and sometimes the great gallop, is their favourite and most usual pace. I have, with astonishment, seen horses, that galloped in this manner, stopped in the middle of a journey by their riders, at every place where there was water to drink : rivers, streams, fountains, all are alike to them. In places where water is scarce, the want of it is supplied by great troughs, which publicans keep at their doors : there the riders stop; and, when the horses have drunk, pay their reckoning. The same conduct is observed, even with regard to post-horses *. When they are come to their journey's end, covered all over with sweat, they go to a brook to quench their thirst, if

* If, by some unexpected event, these horses are obliged to stop by the way, coverings are thrown upon their bodies, in cold weather.

there be one near them; or drink out of great troughs, which are always kept full on their account. The English affirm, that this in part restores their exhausted powers; and none of those inconveniences happen, which are so much dreaded in other countries.

In a word, when we consider the manner, in which the English treat their horses, and in which they live with them, if I may be allowed the expression, one would be inclined to think, that they had travelled with Gulliver to the country of the Houynhns; and that they had brought from thence all those sentiments of esteem and affection, which Gulliver entertained for those gentlemen. Dr. Swift was under no necessity to leave Ireland, to go in quest of the country of the Houynhns, if what we are told by the author of *Les Delices de la Grande Bretagne* be true*, "That such of the Irish, as are still in the state of pure nature, are so fond of their horses, that, when any one mentions them, they would always have him add, God preserve them; or spit upon them, if they happen to be present: as they have a notion, that otherwise they will be seized with some disorder. They are likewise of opinion, that the way to preserve their life and health is, not to suffer their neighbours to come to their houses for fire."

Though the English are so fond of horses, they have not the least tenderness for asses. It is customary with them to deprive these animals of the chief ornament, which they have received from nature: they cut off their ears close to their heads, which gives them the oddest and most ludicrous appearance imaginable. A worthy clergyman preached to no purpose in his village against this practice. He mustered up all the arguments, that had been made use of against the pra-

* P. 1438.

etice of masquerades, which were then tolerated in England*; and he had demonstrated, that it was not lawful for man to alter and disfigure the work of God.

The English are as fond of riding as the Italians are of music. It rouses them, it prevents, suspends, and removes the effects of melancholy upon the constitution: it is an habitual want, and a necessary remedy. They chiefly have recourse to this remedy by hunting. When they are upon the chace, they ride across inclosed grounds, intersected and fenced by ditches: horses leap these ditches, where they are lowest; in case they happen to be equally high throughout the whole extent of an inclosure, they approach the entrance, which is shut by a bar-gate, or moving frame five feet long, and at least four feet high: all the huntsmen leap it in a file, and sometimes two in a breast. The English ladies, who are great huntresses, for some of the reasons which I have laid before the reader, leap over this frame likewise, though they sit sideways upon their horses. This manner of riding they find highly commodious, deriving it from Anne of Luxembourg, consort to king Richard the Second, whose example caused it to be introduced as the most decent manner of riding for women: thus mounted, they travel long journeys, upon a smart trot.

Coaches produce, upon the pavement of London, the effect of a hard trot: this is the rudest shaking, which mechanism can invent. The pavement is so

* The earthquake at Lisbon made at London an impression, the more lively, as many of its inhabitants were considerable losers thereby. The London clergy seized this opportunity, to preach against the masquerades, which were abolished, on account their clamours and invectives against them.

bad *; the horses run with such impetuosity, where they meet with no embarrassment or obstacle; and carriages drag on so heavily, where the passages are obstructed; that the best coach makes as rumbling a noise as the heavy carts which butchers boys drive about the streets of Paris. Even in walking, the English exert themselves with much the same violence, whether it be in the street, or in a garden.

Whilst I was waiting for a lawyer in Lincoln's-inn, who was expected every moment at his chambers, I went to take a turn in the garden. There I beheld an Englishman by himself, walking very fast, swinging his arms, stamping with his feet, and using all the gestures of a boxer, who, whilst he is waiting for his antagonist, throws himself into the attitudes necessary to excite his courage, or keep himself in breath. The scene opened, when I entered the garden: I passed an hour and an half in that place; and left my gentleman, who is perhaps still running to and fro, and swinging his arms.

Happening one day to pay a visit near the Museum, the company I was with, shewed me, in a field † hard by, the late Mr. York, attorney-general; who was then retained in a remarkable cause. He recited his pleading, with some of the gestures of the man at Lincoln's-inn; but, as these were occasioned by a certain, determinate object, they did not resemble those of a frantic person.

* The new pavement has removed this objection. T.

† A private enclosed field, between the gardens of the Museum and Bedford-house, which Mr. Yorke often retired to in fine weather, for exercise and study. T.

THE ENGLISH MELANCHOLY.

ITS CAUSES, EFFECTS, AND REMEDIES.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the involuntary and premeditated efforts of the English, to dispel the melancholy, which so predominates in their constitution,

Post equitem sedet atra cura;

It produces amongst them a thousand effects as well general as particular, which I shall examine in the sequel.

Before I enter into this discussion, may I presume to enquire into the causes of that dismal gloom?

The fogs, with which London, and the three kingdoms whereof London is the metropolis, are perpetually overcast, the constant humidity, and the variation in the climate, occasioned by the sea-air, at the same time, that they give, in all seasons, to the fields and meadows, a most beautiful verdure, unrivalled and indeed unattainable in all other countries, must necessarily have an effect upon the constitution of the inhabitants.

The English live chiefly upon animal food: the quantity of bread, which one Frenchman eats in a day, would be enough for four Englishmen. Beef is their commonest sort of meat; and this meat, which they set a value upon, in proportion to its quantity of fat, mixing in the stomach with beer, their usual drink, must give rise to a chyle, whose viscous heaviness can transmit none but bilious and melancholy juices to the brain.

If their beer, however light and sparkling, has an effect upon the head, it is by making it quite heavy, and introducing all the dreadful intoxication of the most beastly ebriety. The sort of beer, which they call

Porter, hardly ferments in the stomach: yet it was of all the English liquors that which I liked best, and chose to drink for a constancy. Unaccustomed as I was to beer of any sort, and though porter is reckoned very strong, it did not so much affect my head as my stomach and bowels: I found it a very gentle purge, when I happened to exceed my usual quantity. This sort of beer is brewed no where but in London*: for a long time, it was used only by porters, and the lowest of the vulgar: but, since people have taken it into their heads to consider it, as a specific against the gravel, the better sort, and even the ladies themselves, condescend to drink it.

In the account I gave the reader of those commodities which are for general consumption in England, I have spoken of the scarcity of wine, and the sort of wine which is there drunk. Both greatly contribute to occasion that melancholy, which is so general amongst the English. Without citing all the praises, which Horace, and most of the ancients, bestow upon this liquor, and without desiring to give sanction to the proverb, which allows a debauch once a month; I cannot deny but we are indebted to the juice of the grape for most of those pretty compositions, which are the quintessence of the wit both of the ancients and the moderns. That of the Greeks partook of all the qualities of their wine: vivacity, warmth, sprightliness. Their wines diverted them agreeably from love, and all those strong passions, which were inspired by the warmth of their constitution and their natural temper.

The smoke of sea-coal fires, with which the atmosphere of London is generally filled, may be reckoned amongst the physical causes of the melancholy of its inhabitants. The terrestrial and mineral parti-

* It contains a large dose of elder flower.

cles, with which that smoke is impregnated, insinuate themselves into the blood of those who are always inhaling them, render it dull and heavy, and carry with them new principles of melancholy.

The moral causes, which partly result from the physical, heighten, and continue what the others began.

Education, religion, public diversions, and the works of authors in vogue, seem to have no other end in view, but to feed and propagate this distemper.

Education, the aim of which should be to direct, and to temper the natural disposition, has little or no influence upon the English. It begins with teaching to read and write at home. The principal object of this ground-work of education is, not to put any constraint upon the tempers of children, nor any bias upon the operations of nature, in unfolding the faculties either of the body or mind: this is conformable to the principles laid down by Aristotle, in the last book of his *Politics*.

In pursuance of the same principle, children are sent from their father's house to public schools, in which there are a great number of boys, and which are supported and maintained by handsome foundations. After the young people have, in these schools, been taught the elements of the learned languages, they are sent to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The public schools and universities, by bringing together persons of all ranks and conditions in life, put them, in some measure, upon a level. A spirit of emulation reigns there, which is excluded by domestic education: connexions are formed, which often lay the foundation of the greatest fortunes. "Such, say the English, was the education at Sparta, calculated to form men, and not *petit maitres*:

such was the education of the present royal family, who were brought up with other children of the same age, that shared their pastimes and amusements. The princes, brothers to the king, have thereby contracted that popularity, which the Romans called *civilitas*: a popularity the more agreeable to the public, inasmuch as, whilst they are treated with condescension, they consider their masters as fellow-citizens and friends."

I have attended Westminster-school; and have seen Eton: which are the chief foundations of this sort. The children, who are all dressed alike, in the plainest manner imaginable, and who have their hair cut like our brethren *De la Charité*, with a band on their necks, shew how they are likely to turn out at the age of fifty. With faces, which are, generally speaking, very handsome, and with an air of the utmost mildness, they are the most intractable, and the most obstinate creatures, that ever came out of the hands of nature. In their deportment, in their very pastimes, their countenances shew nothing of that flexible disposition, and those winning graces, which elsewhere are discoverable in boys of their age*: they do not betray their archness by those tricks, and those little frolics, the result of which is to laugh at the expence of their school-fellows. To make up for this, they are mad for violent exercises, the want of which they already feel: to be indulged in these exercises, is the greatest favour they expect from their masters. If, during their recreations, they listen to the con-

* A gloomy seriousness supplies the place of this, in their early youth: this I took particular notice of twice, that I heard service at the tabernacle of the Methodists. The window-seats, the doors, and the bases of pillars, were covered with children of three or four years of age. Though the service was very long, these children discovered no symptoms of inquietude, uneasiness, or impatience.

versation of their tutors, generally speaking, this turns upon politics, and either tires and disgusts them, or inspires them with an early taste for subjects of that nature.

If we follow these youths to the university, which is governed by a despotic principal, the recluse manner of living in the several colleges, seems calculated to give an additional degree of stiffness and obstinacy to those haughty, harsh, and unyielding spirits, rather than to soften their disposition.

As we sailed up the Thames from Windsor to Eton, at about fifty paces from the college, we came to the head of a mill-bank, where were three of the grown scholars, who had hid themselves amongst the reeds, to erect a little battery: we passed by them, and were saluted with a general discharge, which would, doubtless, have peppered us most terribly, if they had been better marksmen. We were obliged to them for their good intention; and arrived at the college, after having crossed a meadow, which separates it from the Thames. It was then sun-set, the damps began to fall, and the grass was covered with a dewy moisture: yet at this very time we saw about sixty of the boys, in their shirts, dripping with sweat, and playing at cricket. A pretty youth, nearly related to the earl of Chesterfield, upon seeing me, quitted his play, and came to pay his respects. With astonishment, I heard, that he and his companions took this recreation every day, at the same hour, and in the same place. These boys, were watched by one person only, at some distance, who sat upon the banks of the Thames, with a book in his hand.

Having afterwards visited the college, which is divided into several courts, the largest adorned with a bronze statue of the founder, Henry the Sixth, we walked about the town, and entered a grocer's shop,

to

to wait the arrival of part of our company. During the short stay that we made there, about a dozen of the scholars came, to buy biscuits, sugar-plumbs, and other sweet-meats. There was a buxom wench, belonging to the shop, whom some of those young gentlemen caressed and kissed before our faces.

I have elsewhere spoken of the quarrels, which happen amongst those boys, especially in their walks; quarrels, which, the day following, or when first an opportunity offers, they decide by fifty-cuffs, with the resolution and obstinacy of boxers by profession. Scarce can the presence of the most respectable company keep the young people in awe. Could we suppose an assembly of that sort, it was surely that, which met in Westminster-hall, when lord Byron was brought to a trial. At the head of the inclosure, which was set apart for the peers, over whom the lord-chancellor presided as high-steward, stood a throne; which, though it was not filled by the king, represented royal majesty in judgement. The children of the noblest families in England, dressed in little frocks, which they wear at school, and which confounds them with the offspring of citizens and the lower sort of people, were crowded on the steps going to the throne, and seemed very attentive to the proceedings of the court. But they began afterwards to behave like themselves, as soon as the peers entered into debate upon the several articles of the accusation; then they rolled about the steps of the throne, quarrelled, swallowed down apples, with which their pockets were crammed, and threw the remainder in each other's faces. I even saw some of them fling bits of apples into the enormous periwig of the lord-high-steward, who was the more conveniently situated for that purpose, as the back of his seat was towards the throne: he turned about two or three times, with a

com-

complacent air, which seemed to shew, that he took their freedom in good part. In a word, I never saw youths behave in a less decent manner, or appear less sensible of the dignity of a magistrate.

The lower choir of St. Paul's offered to my eye a sight of the same nature: it consisted of about a dozen beggarly boys, dressed in surplices, which hung very slovenly; now moving to and fro, now standing still; now singing, or rather squeaking, and now quite silent, as they happened to be in humour; and often making mouths at each other. What a difference between such disorderly choiristers, and those respectful puppets, which adorn the choirs of our cathedrals and college-chapels!

It must, notwithstanding, be acknowledged, that in persons of all ranks, the English education is a preservative against effeminacy, vanity, and an idle life. *Mollis educatio*, says Quintilian, *nervos omnes mentis & corporis frangit*. *Quid non adultus concupisces et qui in purpuris repit*. *Nondum prima verba exprimit & jam coccum intelligit, jam conchylium poscit*! *Ante palatum eorum quam os instituimus*. “An effeminate education breaks the strength both of the body and mind. What wants will he not have in his manhood, who is enervated in his childhood? Scarce can he speak plain, before he asks for delicacies of all sorts! We form their palates before we teach them to speak.” This education was, notwithstanding, best suited to the age, in which Quintilian lived; as then men were not wanted, but slaves, flexible to the will and caprices of a Nero, a Domitian, and the several tyrants who succeeded them.

Young persons, who come into the world, after having been educated in the English schools, are just in the situation recommended by the duke de la Rochefoucault. “Youth just entering the world, says he,

must

must be either timid or inconsiderate : a serious and self-sufficient air, generally speaking, degenerates into impertinence."

Public education is almost the only sort known in England : children of the first rank have private tutors, who prepare them for the public schools. The happy consequence of this is, that England is not overburthened with a kind of people, who, having passed their best years in a way which produces only a temporary subsistence, spend the remainder in a state of celibacy, and are equally useless to themselves and others.

Young ladies are brought up at boarding-schools, of which there is a considerable number in London, and all over England. Ladies of quality are educated by governantes, most of whom are Frenchwomen or daughters of French refugees, who have followed the same business in Germany, Holland, and all parts of the North of Europe. These governantes, who have generally refined sentiments, complain very much of the indocil disposition of their scholars.

I saw, to my great astonishment, at a very genteel house in London, a little man, who superintended the education of a boy, and occasionally that of three young ladies; the eldest of these, who was thirteen or fourteen years of age, and exceedingly pretty, studied under his inspection, and spoke French, Italian, and German, as fluently as her mother tongue. I was surprized at the virtue of her master ; who, in all probability, owed to the meanness of his appearance, his being chosen for an employment, which may well be called *periculose plenum opus aleæ*.

An odd custom long obtained among the people of England, which formerly made a part of education all over Europe: mothers used to carry their children to public executions, and upon their return

home, whip them, that they might remember the example they had seen; and that the lectures, which they had given them on that occasion, might leave a deeper impression on their memories*.

The religious exercises of the English afford to children, nothing capable of softening and humanizing their disposition. These exercises do not strike the senses: they are confined to prayers, which never end, and are interspersed with metaphysical or dogmatical instructions, that have no effect upon the mind. On the other hand, the service of the church of Rome, the pictures and statues, which adorn the temples, together with the variety of ceremonies, processions, salutations, &c. are better adapted to the capacity of young people: as they have a natural bent to imitation, they are seen to crowd together in Roman Catholic Countries, to dress shrines, to sing at high mass, and to walk in procession; these exercises, nourish that simplicity, which becomes their tender years, and gives the mind a pliant turn, which preserves the gentleness of their temper and their disposition to gaiety.

* The Supplement to the Glossary of Du Cange affords us an example of many such expedients, with regard to children: *Concessit dominus Hugo S. Christofori & Richildis uxor ejus, & Hugo puer filius Hugonis, cui tunc pater Hugo pipilos temporis wellit, & flevit puer.* Ex Chart. ann. 4346. V. Pipilus. "Lord Hugo, the son of Christopher and Richildis his wife, and the boy Hugo, son of Hugo, whose father Hugo pulled his cheeks, and the boy cried." It was customary to beat children with the same intention. A young page or cupbearer, whose ears were boxed in this manner, that he might remember having been admitted as a witness to a certain deed, complained of the hardness of the blow, *cum requireret cur sibi H. permaximum colaphum dedit, respondit ille: quia tu junior me es, & multo vires tempore & eris testis hujus rationis, cum res poposcerit.* Hist. ex Chart. 1034. V. Alapa. "When he asked why H. gave him so hard a box, the other made answer: Because you being younger than I, and likely to live a long time, will witness this affair, when required." The box, which it is customary for a bishop to give a child, when he confirms, is, doubtless, nothing more than an extension of this ancient custom.

If in England we observe the influence of religion on grown persons, we shall see a new source of melancholy. Let us confine ourselves to the inhabitants of country towns and villages; that is to say, to that part of the nation, which has most religion; and we shall find that the Jewish rigour, with which they are obliged to keep the sabbath, the only holiday they have, is an absolute specific to nourish their gloomy temper. This rigid observance of the Sabbath is founded upon the many laws, which the Puritans extorted from queen Elizabeth: laws, which James the First and Charles the First in vain undertook to soften, by the ordinances, which allowed all sorts of lawful pleasures and amusements after divine service*. These ordinances were amongst the grievances, which the Puritans complained of to that prince; and for which they censured the ministers of the Church of England, who had adopted, and published them in their churches. The Long Parliament even went so far as to cause the above ordinances to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. Pious frauds, a thing which the Reformers so greatly abhorred in the Romish clergy, have since been used by themselves, in favour of the manner of keeping the Sabbath. Near Neot, on the eastern side of the county of Cornwall, is to be seen, a circle of mishapen stones, fixed deep in the earth, and placed there long since by human art. It has been asserted by the clergy, and the country-people are credulous enough to believe it, that these stones were so many men, thus metamorphosed, whilst they were playing at tennis on a Sabbath-day, in open violation of the laws of religion†.

* In the English cathedrals, this service is chaunted: but how! It is a heavy, sad, and languishing sort of psalmody, resembling that of our Carmelite nuns.

† The most considerable monument of this sort to be seen in
On

On this day, the theatres and all houses of entertainment are shut; all sorts of gaming and dancing are forbid: people are neither allowed to sing at home, nor to play upon any instrument; the newspapers, the favourite food of national curiosity, are discontinued; the watermen cease to ply upon the river Thames; the tolls to be paid upon coming into London are doubled; and some of them are even trebled, on account of a late act of parliament, which has assigned the product of this increase of the tolls to new-pave the capital; except in church-time, the inhabitants of London wait, with their arms across, till service is again celebrated, or till the day is over, without having any other amusement, but to gaze in a melancholy mood at those who pass to and fro in the streets. The young English officer, who followed a coach from Paris to Calais, refused one Sunday to sing a song for us, because that was not a proper day; or to sing a psalm, because that was not a proper place.

The principal festivals of the year bring with them an increase of sadness and melancholy. Except at the time of divine service, Westminster-abbey is shut to the curiosity both of natives and foreigners: that curiosity, we are told, is a sort of worldly affection, which should not be suffered to encroach on the pious exercises of a day entirely consecrated to religion.

England is Stone-henge, or, the *Dance of Giants* on Salisbury plain. It is a heap of mishapen stones, piled up in a round heap, some of them twenty-eight feet high, upon which other stones of the same bulk lie in the form of an architrave. Inigo Jones, a famous architect, considered these stones as the ruins of a temple built by the Romans, and dedicated to Cœlus. He has composed upon this subject a volume in folio, published at London in 1655. Others maintain, that this building is the work of the Danes. Perhaps it is a work of the ancient Britons. We have in France the remains of an edifice of the same sort near Pons-sur-Seine.

This

This over-rigid observance of the Sabbath owes its origin to the Anabaptists. A merchant of that sect, settled at Rotterdam, having one Sunday morning paid his workmen for what they had done the preceding week, was cited before the consistory, severely reprimanded, and excommunicated, for violating the Sabbath. Another Anabaptist at Amsterdam, happening to take a walk one Sunday evening, refused to tell Mr. Courcelles, who asked him, what rent he paid for his house*.

The English, being accustomed to view religion in this gloomy light, are ready to give into every sort of excess, which they think capable of leading them to perfection by any path whatever. There is no sort of extravagance of this kind, that an English head is not capable of; as it will evidently appear, when I come to give an account of the several religious sects in England.

Religion is, notwithstanding, calculated to make men happy: “ He will be gay, if he has a gay religion; he will be sad, if his religion is of a sad and gloomy sort: he makes his happiness subordinate to it, and refers himself to it in all things that interest him most: thus the ministers of religion are responsible to God, not only for the future, but the present happiness of the people, whose confidence they are possessed of: it is an offence against the human species to disturb the repose, which they should enjoy upon earth †.”

The theatrical exhibitions of the English equally contribute to feed, or rather increase the national melancholy. The tragedies, which the people are most fond of, consist of a number of bloody scenes, shocking to humanity; and these scenes are upon the stage as warm and affecting as the justest action

* Sorberiana.

† Antiquity Unveiled, 1. v.c. 2. No. 8.

can render them: an action as lively, pathetic and glowing, as that of their preachers is cold, languid and uniform. Imagination can conceive nothing so strong as what I have seen of this sort at the theatres of Covent-garden and Drury-lane, where, as I was unacquainted with the language,

Spectabam populum ludis attentius ipsis.

At the representations of Macbeth, Richard the Third, King Lear, and other pieces of Shakespeare; which I happened to be a spectator of, whatever the most barbarous cruelty, or the most refined wickedness can possibly conceive, is presented to the view. What these pieces want in point of regularity, is abundantly compensated by the choice of incidents, of a nature most affecting, and most capable of harrowing up the soul. If, in these pieces, love displays itself at all, it is in the most striking effects, which filial or conjugal affection can produce. The commonest subjects of tragedies, and those which have been treated in the most masterly manner, are borrowed from the history of England. Most of their ancient kings act the part of fools, madmen, or ideots. The stage has not yet ventured to represent the history of Charles the First*. Yet how admirable a subject for a tragedy is furnished by the various events, which befel this unfortunate prince, considered as a king, a father, and a husband†!

In one of these tragedies, which I saw represented, a king dethroned, and condemned by a tyrant to die, with his wife and children, requests that tyrant to order him instantly to be conducted to execution, with his family, as the greatest favour he could grant him. That favour is refused him: in the moment,

* Here the author is mistaken; the tragedy of Charles I. written by Mr. Havid, was represented upon the stage. T.

† The secret admiration the bulk of the nation has for Cromwell, seems to have deprived dramatic poets of these subjects.

which is to separate them for ever, the king flies into the arms of the queen, who embraces her royal comfort, and they continue clasping each other in transport, which excites in the whole audience the strongest emotions, expressed by a general applause. Upon seeing this scene, and many others equally affecting, a mere recital of which would rather have raised my laughter than pity, I could not help feeling the general emotion, nor avoid shedding tears. The earl of Chesterfield, to whom I gave an account of the impression, which these scenes made upon me, assured me, that it was owing to my ignorance of the English language; and that it would have been totally destroyed, if I had understood all the stupidity connected with those incidents. It must be acknowledged, that a long residence in France, at the court of the late regent, and a perfect acquaintance with all our best writers, inspired this nobleman with a dislike for many things which the English

Ad cælum tollunt rumore secundo.

The English stage has certain customs, which greatly hurt a Frenchman, who is not used to them. The last scene of every act is constantly interrupted, and sometimes in the most interesting part, by the tinkling of a little bell, which apprizes the music to be ready to play in the interval between the acts. The actresses, who perform the principal characters, drag long trains after them, which have four corners, like a carpet, the breadth proportioned to the importance of the character; and they are followed by a little boy, in quality of a train-bearer, who is as inseparable from them as the shadow from the body. This page, who is sprucely dressed, and muffled up in a livery, made to suit his stature within two or three inches, keeps his eye constantly fixed upon the train of the princess; sets it to rights,

when it is ever so little ruffled or disordered; and is seen to run after it with all his might, when a violent emotion makes the princess hurry from one side of the stage to the other: this he does with all the phlegm and seriousness natural to the English. In the abovementioned scene between the king and queen, who can be affected to so high a degree as not to take notice of the attention of the little page, to repair the disorder, which the queen's train constantly receives, as she stirs and moves with impassioned attitudes in the arms of the afflicted monarch?

Scenes of battery and carnage are generally preceded by laying a large thick carpet upon the stage, to represent the field of battle, and which is afterwards carried off with the dead bodies, to leave the trap-doors at liberty for the ghosts, who appear again upon the stage, in the acts immediately subsequent to the engagement.

If these irregularities were removed, or even if they were retained, perhaps the English theatre might succeed at Paris; at least, it might please those old Parisians, who being, from their cradle, as it were, rocked and lulled to sleep by our best performances, would be rouzed at the representation of Shakespeare's tragedies: there they would go to shed tears, as they go to laugh at the nonsense exhibited at the Comic Opera, or at the Bulwarks.

How great an effect would the number of the slain, the massacres, and the apparitions of persons killed in the course of the piece, have upon spectators of this sort! In the last act of Richard the Third, a crowd of princes and princesses, poisoned, assassinated, stabbed, rise from out of the earth, to curse the tyrant, who is asleep in his tent: those that had been destroyed by the sword, stand in a fixed, immoveable attitude, their visages pale, with their eyes

closed, their shirts and their clothes besmeared with blood issuing from their wounds ; they then deliver themselves in a sad and dismal tone of voice, which produces quite a different effect upon the spectators from what I thought it would, when I read English plays in translations : the effect I mean is the φόβος καὶ ἔλεος, the fear and pity of the Greeks.

It is easy to guess what effect this must have upon the imaginations of the English. They are very ready to carry their children to the playhouse ; alledging the same reasons for this practice, that are elsewhere given for sending young persons to public executions. The impression they make upon the young people is so lively and durable, that, notwithstanding they have none of those prejudices, which are kept up in Roman Catholic countries by the belief of purgatory, and several stories relative to that article, there are few nations, which, without believing in apparitions in theory, are really more afraid of them in practice than the English.

My landlord's eldest son, a boy about nine or ten years of age, shewed me how much he was swayed by apprehensions, in two or three nocturnal scenes, which produced a disturbance that might have alarmed the whole neighbourhood. He leaped out of bed, and, after beating the wainscot with his head and feet, at the same time roaring like one possessed, he rolled about upon the ground in dreadful convulsions, which made us despair of his life : he thought he was haunted by all the ghosts in the tragedy of Richard the Third, and by all the dead bodies in the churchyards of London.

The English comedy is very unable to obliterate or weaken the impressions of melancholy, which tragedy leaves behind it : nay, it sometimes leaves

new ones, by the nocturnal scenes, which it frequently exhibits. The English are in general as indifferent with regard to comedy, as they are passionate admirers of tragedy: they are very ready to give up the superiority of the sock to other nations, upon condition of being allowed to have a superior talent for the buskin.

Their best comedies consist of complicated intrigues, which put the minds of those, who endeavour to attend and unravel them, to the torture. The general groundwork of these intrigues is that disguise of characters, which the Italians call *sotto nome*, upon which the Spanish comedies and our antient French plays are likewise founded. Besides, the English pay but little regard to the unity of action and place; and their pieces are the more striking, the greater number of characters they contain.

Scarce do the best compositions of that nation afford any relief against melancholy and dejection. The Spectator, written by Steele and Addison, is the master-piece of the English in the lively and facetious stile; but all the humour of this work lies in the form under which it delivers some lessons of morality*.

The works of Dr. Swift are political and theological tracts, varnished over with a satire rather pungent than delicate, where it would be in vain to look for the refined raillery, or the delicacy and ease, of Paschal's Provincial Letters. Gulliver's Travels is that author's master-piece; but this work has gained greatly by passing through the hands of our abbé Des Fontaines. In this species of composition,

* *Ut pueris absynthia tetra medentes
Cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore.*

and in all those which require an unaffected gaiety of style, it would be in vain for England to dispute the palm with Italy and France :

*Ne forcons point notre talent,
Nous ne ferions rien avec grace.*

Let us not strive our bent to force in vain,
Else void of grace must be each poet's strain.

Hence the English, both writers and readers, prefer the sentimental to the ludicrous style. How spacious a field has the latter to display itself in those numerous pamphlets, with which London is every day over-run by contending parties, who should naturally endeavour to turn each other into ridicule? And yet the sourest bile, the bitterest gall, and the most mortifying truths, supply the place of that raillery and gaiety, which Horace, that great judge of works of taste, required in this species of composition: *ridiculum acri, &c.* However, this is what the English call humour, a term borrowed from the French word *belle humeur*.

I shall not here repeat what I have already said concerning the conversation of the English: they are generally in a serious strain. I never saw more than one scene of gaiety in England, which was the more remarkable as it was quite misplaced: this was the second day of lord Byron's trial at Westminster-hall. A well-dressed man was very inconveniently seated upon the highest step of that part of the amphitheatre, where I happened to be placed. An hour before the peers entered, this man rose, and began to prate to every body that stood near him: he spoke very loud, and his words were accompanied and enforced by the gestures of a mountebank: they were interrupted by the audience with loud peals of laughter, in which he himself joined; and this lasted till the peers entered. I thought he was

in liquor; but a gentleman told me he was a member of the house of commons, of a very facetious disposition, and that he sometimes exhibited scenes of the same droll nature in the senate-house.

Setting aside a few exceptions, which confirm the general rule, as they are in but a very small number, melancholy prevails in London in every family, in circles, in assemblies, at public and private entertainments; so that the English nation, which sees verified in itself the *populum late regem* of Virgil, offers to the eyes of strangers only *populum late tristem*.

The merry meetings even of the lower sort of people are dashed with this gloom. On the 26th of April, the butchers boys celebrated the anniversary of the duke of Cumberland's birth-day. Being about fifty in number, they, in uniforms, that is to say, in caps and white aprons, paraded the streets of London by break of day, having each a great marrow-bone in his hand, with which they beat time upon a large cleaver: this produced a sort of music as sharp as dissonant. The air of those, who played in this manner, being as savage as their music, made them appear like a company of hangmen marching in ceremony to some great execution.

The first of May is a general holiday for milk-women, and chimney-sweepers. The former, attended by a person wrapped up in a great pannier, consisting of several rows of flowers and pot-herbs, ramble about the streets, and go amongst their customers, dancing and asking the presents generally made upon this occasion. The pannier of the milk-women is covered with pieces of plate, ranged in rows as in a buffet, and these moving machines hide every part but the feet of those who carry them. The chimney-sweepers are disguised in a more ridiculous manner; their faces are whitened with

meal, their heads covered with high periwigs powdered as white as snow, and their cloaths bedawbed with paper-lace ; and yet though dressed in this droll manner, their air is nearly as serious as that of undertakers at a funeral.

This is the only sort of masquerade at present suffered in England. At the time of the earthquake at Lisbon the bishops demanded in a body, and obtained from the king, a total abolition of masks at all rejoicings, whether public or private.

Even love itself, as I have been assured, is treated throughout the dominions of the king of Great-Britain, as the most serious of all concerns, as a matter attended with the most important consequences, and as an affair which leads every day, on one side or other, to marriages every way unsuitable and imprudent.

The English themselves make a jest of the solemn seriousness, which characterises their courtship. I saw them crowding to a printseller's in Cheapside, to purchase two prints of three different colours. They represented a lover and his mistress, both yawning, in a manner so natural, that the sight of them caused the same convulsion in beholders. At the bottom of each of these prints was written, —*heigh! ho!*

I am not ignorant, that, in all countries, in proportion to the size of their towns, the inhabitants are prevented, by interest, by vanity, by indolence, by satiety, and by the continual clashing of a thousand inferior passions ; are prevented, I say, from having that free and easy chearfulness of temper, which is to be found in country places, under a mild and moderate government :

Extrema per illos

Lætitia excedens terris vestigia fixit.

But

But in England the peasant, well-fed, well-lodged, and at his ease, has as serious and melancholy an air, as those wretched hinds in other countries, who are persecuted and harassed by thousands, whose business it is, and who are even sworn, to defend and protect them.

From this gloomy disposition result several effects, the combination of which is the basis of the English character.

V. II

APTITUDE OF THE ENGLISH FOR THE SCIENCES.

THERE are some happy characters amongst the English, which verify what Plutarch says after Aristotle, That none but great geniuses are subject to melancholy*.

Hence arises the aptitude of the English for the sciences, the depth of which requires that the whole soul should concenter, and, as it were, bury itself in them. This is the spring of those discoveries which are the result of the most vigorous efforts of the mind. The labours, which lead to these discoveries, were, in all ages, the lot of melancholy tempers. The learned Meziriac was himself astonished how he could go through his work upon Diophantes, and carry it to perfection : he declared, he should never have finished it, had it not been for a melancholy temper, and a kind of obstinacy arising from a quartan ague, with which he had been long afflicted†.

England has maintained the reputation for the abstruse sciences, which it had formerly for the philosophy and theology of the schools, when the greatest geniuses were entirely engrossed by those studies. Those which have established themselves upon their ruin, are infinitely indebted to the plans, the disco-

* Plut. Life of Lysander, in the beginning.

† His life by Pelisson, in the Hist. of the French Acad.

veries,

veries, of Bacon, Gilbert, Boyle, Newton, Halley, &c. &c. In investigations concerning antiquity, what obligations do we not owe to Usher, Selden, Marsham, and the accurate and laborious lucubrations of the learned men, who have raised from their ruins Palmyra, Athens, with the monuments of Dioclesian at Spalatro? England presents us with many living examples of the perseverance of its inhabitants in their attachment to such objects as have once engaged their attention.

Dr. Askew, son to an eminent physician of Newcastle, conceived a passion for the Greek language, of which he soon made himself master. Whilst a very young man he went over to Paris, where the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres made him an honorary member; and then he repaired to Greece. After having traversed that country, to improve himself by foreign travels, he studied the monuments of antiquity, and discovered several, which had escaped the observation of antiquaries: he made some stay at Athens, and there learned the vulgar Greek. Inquiring into the state of literature in that city, he found it in a deplorable condition; all that was taught in the schools being only some portions of their liturgies, and other writings of that kind; upon which he talked to them of their ancestors, of the great reputation which they had acquired in arms and literature, of the writings which had continued it; in a word, of the copiousness, the beauty and the energy of the language in which these writings have been transmitted to posterity. He therefore recommended it to the principal school-master in the place to instruct the youth under his care in some of the old classic writers: which advice was followed; and, as we have since heard, with very good success.

This

This gentleman enjoys, in his own country, the fruits of his care and assiduity, in concert with one of the finest women in London; he has a library, well chosen and well furnished, and enriched with a large collection of antiquities, which he brought home with him; his countrymen are greatly pleased with his zeal for the Greek language and nation, a zeal, which in other kingdoms might perhaps render the man, who presumed to make it his boast, the object of lasting ridicule.

A zeal no less ardent and extraordinary sent M. Wortley Montague to Egypt. This gentleman is son to the celebrated lady of the same name, who introduced the custom of inoculating for the small-pox into Europe. He was born at Constantinople, whilst his father was ambassador at that capital, was heir to the great estate of the family, and to all the vivacity of character, which so eminently distinguished his mother; being sent to France under the care of a governor of great learning, he passed the best part of his youthful days at Troyes, deeply immersed in the study of the dead languages, and the several branches of science to which they are the key. Upon his return to England, he married below himself, and this match, which he could not be dissuaded from, induced his father to disinherit him, and leave his whole fortune to a sister, who married the celebrated earl of Bute.

Reduced to a pension, just sufficient for his support, he had recourse to literature, to comfort him in his misfortunes, dedicating great part of his time to the most profound and abstruse speculations. In this retreat he carefully perused the Bishop of Clogher's Journal to Grand Cairo; in which that learned prelate produces certain inscriptions of great antiquity, which

which are still to be seen upon a huge rock at the foot of Mount Sinai. Several travellers have given explanations of these; but they all differ widely, and from their variation, it is reasonable to infer, that they never were rightly explained.

Mr. Mountague was hence inspired with a most ardent desire to explain them in such a manner as to supersede any new attempt: for this purpose he prepared himself, by studying and comparing those languages, which might lead him to that explanation; and scarce was the peace concluded, but he embarked aboard a vessel bound to Egypt, where he at present enjoys the full gratification of his curiosity. The public will reap the fruits of this learned excursion, either by receiving the true explanation of the inscriptions of Mount Sinai, or will cease to give itself any trouble about the matter, if Mr. Montague should declare them incapable of being decyphered*.

The disposition and turn of mind, which excites men to such enterprizes, and inspires them with the courage requisite for carrying them into execution, is precisely the sort of character required by antient legislators in statesmen. It is the *atrox animus*, which the supercilious philosophy of the Stoics, ever attentive to the administration of public affairs, endeavoured to instil into its followers. Horace quitted his character in a frolic, to adopt that rigid philosophy, when he said,

Nunc agilis fio & mersor civilibus undis.

* Mr. Mountague has already given an account of these inscriptions in *The Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. LVI. No VIII. See also *The Bp. of Clogher's Journal to Grand Cairo*. T.

The whole English nation adopts it by constitution ; that is, with all the ardour that melancholy inspires for those objects upon which it happens to be concentered. This occasions the great sale of those news-papers, which are published daily, and which the generality of the English spend a considerable time in reading : hence arise those revolutions, which have so often changed the government of England. Neighbouring countries have likewise had their revolutions, but less frequently : they have been trifles, in comparison of the disturbances in England.

In the present state of that kingdom, public affairs are become the concern of every Englishman : each citizen is a politician. The case was quite different in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, and queen Elizabeth : the royal authority then concentering the whole power, and, like the divine agency, not discovering itself otherwise than by its effects, left the citizen no other merit but that of obedience and submission. The popularity affected by queen Elizabeth at the beginning of her reign, gave occasion to the inquiries of certain politicians : but that princess soon assumed the tone of Paulus Emilius*, “to those soldiers, who encroached upon the office of captain-general, and who presumed to say, that he ought to have done such and such things, which he had omitted. The general severely reprimanded them for this liberty, and forbid them to pry curiously into matters which did not concern them, but only to think of keeping themselves in readiness, and their arms in good condition, and to use their swords like Romans, whenever he should give them an opportunity. And, to increase their vigilance, he ordered that those who were to mount guard should watch without javelins, that they might be the

* Life of Paulus Emilius, by Plutarch.

more careful and attentive to resist the enemy, in case of a sudden attack."

Notwithstanding this, England had been, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, already divided between two parties *, which crushed each other successively in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth; and which, though ever the same under different names and forms, afterwards deprived the unfortunate Charles the First of his life and crown, and hurried James the Second into all the wrong measures, which brought about the last revolution.

Before these revolutions, fanaticism was fed by religious controversies, the first seeds of which were sowed by Wickliffe, in the very bosom of England: disputes, which afterwards causing much contention in political affairs, introduced fanaticism into the state, which had been before confined to the sanctuary †. The genius, which animated the English divines, who wrote upon justification in the reign of Henry the Eighth and his son Edward, afterwards excited the Vanes, the Sandys, the Seldens, &c. when, sapping the foundations of the throne, in the reign of Charles the First, they insensibly paved the road, which led Cromwell to the supreme power. The last of these geniuses was Newton, who assigned laws to the system of the universe: the first was Duns Scotus, who disputed so warmly upon a *parte rei*: it was the same sort of spirit, applied with the

* They were, in an underhand manner, excited and spurred on by a treacherous minister, whose name was Thomas Cromwell.

† Those enervate religion who make a change in it; and they take from it a certain degree of importance, which alone is capable of keeping the lower sort of people in awe. They have a kind of restlessness at the bottom of their hearts, which breaks loose, if that necessary bridle be removed; and when once they are left to their own discretion with regard to religion, they no longer keep within bounds. *Boschet, Funer. Orat. on the Q. of England.*

same

same degree of attachment, to objects that had no other difference but that which sprung from times and circumstances*.

NATIONAL PRIDE.

How far Melancholy may be productive of it. Effects of this Pride, with regard to England.

THE impetuosity, and the perseverance, with which melancholy dwells upon such objects as interest and engage it, are the principles, which induce the English to concern themselves so much about public affairs. Each citizen identifying himself with the government, must of necessity extend to himself the high idea which he has of the nation : he triumphs in its victories ; he is afflicted by its calamities : he exhausts himself in projects to promote its successes, to second its advantages, and to repair its losses : he may be compared to the fly in the fable, which, when it approaches the horses, “ Thinks to animate them by its humming, stings one, then another, and imagines every moment that it makes the carriage go forward ; it sits upon

* It is this difference, which explains the thought of an English poem, entitled *The Church-yard* :

How many Cromwells buried here !

That is to say, what a number of persons repose here, unknown and obscure, who would have been so many Cromwells, if they had been placed in the same situation and circumstances, which favoured that usurper ! A thought illustrated by that multitude of men, whom the troubles of those times raised from amongst the dregs of the people to the highest dignities in the nation, in which they did not appear to be out of their sphere. All states, as an Englishman once said to me, would in every age, undergo revolutions of the same sort, if Providence did not take care to produce but few Cromwells. Venal souls, fanatical heads, ambitious men sold to iniquity, all the instruments of tyranny, are of every age and every country : they resemble wheels in proper order, which, to be set a going, want nothing but the grand spring.

the

the pole, and upon the coachman's nose: and no sooner does it see the carriage driven on, and the people continuing their journey, but it arrogates the glory of the whole movement to itself."

Hence that national pride, which immortalized him, who first used the expression, *the majesty of the people of England*: a pride, from which the splendor of the most renowned states of antiquity took its rise: a pride, which, being the first foundation of public strength, and multiplying it *ad infinitum*, subdivides, and, in some measure, distributes itself to every citizen: a pride, that produced those wonderful examples of patriotism, which make so shining a figure in ancient story: in fine, a pride, which perhaps is the only patriotism, that human nature is capable of attaining:

Totam diffusa per artus

Mens agitat molem ac magno se corpore miscet.

Even the fair sex has its share of this pride in England, and it discovers itself with all the violence which melancholy gives to the affections and passions. The revolution, which subverted the throne of Charles the First, furnishes many examples of this sort, which Butler makes mention of in his *Hudibras*.

It is an Antichristian opera,
Much us'd in midnight times of popery,
Of running after self-inventions
Of wicked and profane intentions,
To scandalize that sex, for scolding,
To whom the sex are so beholding.
Women who were our first apostles,
Without whose aid we had been lost else;
Women that left no stone unturn'd,
In which the cause might be concern'd,
Brought in their childrens spoons and whistles,
To purchase swords, carbines, and pistols:

Their

Their husbands, cullies, and sweethearts,
 To take the saints and churches parts,
 Drew several gifted brethren in,
 That for the bishops would have been,
 And fix'd them constant to the party
 With motives powerful and hearty,
 Their husbands robb'd, and made hard shifts
 T' administer unto their gifts
 All they could rap, and rend, and pilfer,
 To scraps and ends of gold and silver ;
 Rubb'd down the teachers, tir'd and spent,
 With holding forth for parliament ;
 Pamper'd and edify'd their zeal
 With marrow-puddings many a meal.

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What have they done, or what left undone,
 That might advance the cause at London ?
 March'd rank and file, with drum and ensign,
 T' intrench the city for defence in ?
 Rais'd rampiers with their own soft hands
 To put the enemy to stands ;
 From ladies, down to oyster-wenches,
 Labour'd like pioneers in trenches,
 Fal'n to their pick-axes and tools,
 And help'd the men to dig like mole !
 Have not the hand-maids of the city
 Chose of their members a committee,
 For raising of a common purse
 Out of their wages to raise horse ?
 And do they not as triers sit,
 To judge what officers are fit * ?

And, in another place, the same author says,
 Did not a certain lady whip
 Of late her husband's own lordship ?

* Hudibras, Part II. Canto 2.



And though a grandee of the house
Claw'd him with fundamental blows!
Ty'd him stark naked to a bed-post,
And firk'd his hide as if she had rid post,
And after in the session's court,
Where whipping's judg'd, had honour for't *.

M. Tonnelley, who has obliged the world with a French translation of Hudibras, says, in a note upon one of the passages in which this patriotism of the English ladies is spoken of: "The fact is true. A peer of the realm, who had been one of the judges that tried Charles the First, though he did not sign the sentence, appeared inclined to favour the king, and upon the point of forsaking the cause, in which he had till then signalized himself. This conduct hurt his reputation; he was even threatened upon that account by the chiefs of the republican party. This happening to come to the ears of his wife, she, to shew her abhorrence of her husband's behaviour, and dispel the storm which impended over his head, with the assistance of her servant-maids, tied her husband naked to one of the bed-posts, and did not cease lashing him till he promised to behave better for the future, and to ask pardon of his superiors. The parliament, charmed with the behaviour of this lady, returned her public thanks."

The trial of lord Byron gave me a strong proof how much the English women interest themselves in public affairs. The spacious gallery, which surrounded Westminster-hall, was filled with all the ladies in England, most distinguished for birth, rank, or fortune. They gave a constant and uninterrupted attention to a proceſs, which took up three days sittings, from eight in the morning till six in the evening.

* Hudibras, Part II. Canto 1.

This attention, which continued without the least sign of lassitude, put me in mind of the wives of the ancient Germans, from whom the English are descended. They were admitted to the counsels of the nation : *nec earum consilia aspernantur*, says Tacitus, *aut responsa negligunt : inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid & providum putant* *. “ Nor did they despise their advice, says Tacitus ; or neglect their answers : they even think there is something holy and an extraordinary foresight in them.”

It is doubtless on account of this capacity of the English ladies, which is still as strong as ever, that women have a right to succeed to the crown of England : and their being thus entitled to the succession is fully justified by the reigns of queen Elizabeth and queen Anne, whose glory reflects an honour upon the whole sex.

This right is a grand portion of the jurisdiction common to the women of antient Gaul, which the fair sex has retained in England. Plutarch repeats with pleasure, in several parts of his writings, that, in the treaty by which Hannibal, in his march to Rome, obtained leave to pass through the dominions

* Justus Lipsius has subjoined to this passage a note, which is as void of gallantry and politeness, as it is misplaced with regard to England : *Hoccine supererat ? Heu ! ipsos parum firmâ mente qui eam quaesivere apud amentem sexum !* — Ariosto was of a more gallant and, doubtless, of a more just way of thinking, when he said, at the opening of his 27th canto :

*Molti consigli delle donne sono
Meglio improvviso che a pensarvi usciti :
Che questo è speciale e proprio dono
Frà tanti e tanti loro dal ciel largiti.
Ma può mal quel degli huomini effer buono,
Che maturo discorso non aiti.*

“ The ladies have often given better advice on a sudden than with premeditation : this is a peculiar gift, amongst many others, which heaven has bestowed upon them. But the advice of men can seldom be good, when it is not accompanied by profound deliberation.”

of the Gauls, it was expressly stipulated, that every dispute between the Gauls and Carthaginians should be decided upon the spot by Gaulish women.

Whatever does honour to the English nation, at the same time, throws a lustre upon each citizen; those men, therefore, whose services, knowledge, and abilities, have contributed to raise the glory of England, meet with all that respect, veneration, and homage, which were the greatest rewards and chief hope of the most renowned heroes of antiquity * : a homage paid with a warmth unknown to those men, who, being the abject slaves of money or worldly prosperity †, can neither form a just estimate of actions, nor a judgment of characters, which their weak eyes dare not to contemplate steadily.

This ardour, which warmed Rome and Greece, is to be found in England, and must necessarily produce the same fruits in that kingdom. The British Museum, the palaces of great noblemen, the cabinets of the curious, the houses of citizens, those dark and solitary grottos which people of fortune consecrate to melancholy in their country retirements, the taverns and inns, the houses where people meet for public diversions, are all adorned with figures painted or engraved, and with busts of all sizes, made of all sorts of materials, of Bacon, Shakespeare, Milton, Locke, Addison, Newton, and even Cromwell himself: I could not with-

* Of all those who have presumed to see farther than the vulgar, Newton is perhaps the only one who, in the course of a long life, obtained from his country the rewards due to his merit and his labours. All England had a veneration for him, the effect of which he enjoyed without molestation or interruption.

† People, said D'Aubigné, in his Appendix to the first two volumes of his History, are more eager for bills during their lives, than epitaphs after their death.

out astonishment see a fine bust of the latter fill a distinguished place in the British Museum.

It is an odd effect of chance, that, in all the monuments which represent Cromwell, he should have a striking resemblance to the portraits of our Lewis the eleventh. Physiognomists with pleasure behold a likeness in the countenances of two persons, who resembled each other in so many other respects. I must, at the same time, observe, that all the portraits of Lewis the eleventh are taken from his statue set up at the beginning of the last century in the church of Notre Dame de Clery. Now the artist that carved this statue seems to have done it from his own fancy, in the same manner as he would have executed that of Clovis or Charlemagne. There was in the church of Pleissis-les-Tours a picture of Lewis the eleventh: the resemblance of which is the less doubtful, as it was executed immediately under the eye of that prince, in which he caused himself to be represented kneeling at the foot of Notre Dame de Clery: the piece is by a good hand, and in the old Flemish taste. This portrait, which does not much flatter the original, gives him a mean aspect, and the ignoble air of a knavish peasant, whose rougery is detected; the air of La Fontaine's clown prostrate at the feet of his lord, whom he had offended. The artist, not finding in the picture the air of a prince, *dignumque numismate vultum*, has given his statue that face, with which he is represented in pictures sold in print-shops, and by which he bears a likeness to Cromwell.

In the library of lord Morton, late president of the royal society, the several faculties and branches of science, which are elsewhere distinguished by simple inscriptions, are represented by a basso-

relievo in painting, which unites in several groupes the most eminent men in each faculty, both amongst the antients and moderns : the centre of each basso-relievo presents the picture of some Englishman, who appears to hold the first rank in that peculiar branch of science. The hint of these several ornaments seems to have been suggested by the tombs of the antients.

Milton is there at the head of the epic poets : round him stand, according to their several degrees of merit, Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Camoens, Boileau, &c. at the head of the dramatic poets is Shakespeare, surrounded by Sophocles, Euripides, Terence, Lopez de Vega, Corneille, Racine, Moliere : the moral writers are headed by Tillotson, who has in his retinue, Confucius, St. John Chrysostom, St. Jerome, Bossuet, Nicole, Fenelon, Bourdaloue : at the head of the historians is Buchanan, attended by Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Cæsar, Thuanus, Machiavel : the heroes of experimental philosophy are Paschal, Galileo, Toricelli, headed by Boyle : Newton is the hero of the nobler sciences ; he is accompanied by Pythagoras, Archimedes, Descartes, Kepler, Gassendi, Huygens, &c. The heads of all these illustrious personages, both English and foreigners, are copied from their pictures with a servile exactness, which may be known at the first glance.

The hall in which the Royal Society meets is adorned with the pictures of Gassendi, the famous philosopher Hobbes, Sir Christopher Wren, and the bust of Sir Isaac Newton, with that of king Charles the Second, in whose reign the society was established. I asked, why the portrait of Descartes was not in this collection ? The reason assigned by those I inquired of was, that these busts and pictures were presents given at different times by members of the society,

eiety, which would have received with equal gratitude that of the French philosopher, and set it in as honourable a place.

One of the most remarkable monuments of this kind is that, which the celebrated Mr. Garrick lately erected to the memory of Shakespeare, at Hampton. Upon a small eminence formed by art, which commands a prospect of the banks of the Thames, and is separated from the garden by a long row of laurels and ever-greens, rises a little temple, built with as much solidity as taste, of Portland-stone. It is of a round form, terminated by a cupola, the diameter twenty-one feet: the door is adorned with a front, which juts out, and is supported, in the antique manner, by two pillars. This temple is decorated with a statue of Shakespeare as large as the life, executed by Roubilliac in fine Carrara marble. The father of English tragedy is represented with a pen in his hand, seeming to have just conceived one of those sublime ideas, to which he owes his reputation. This statue, which is in itself very fine, and rendered still more so by the intention of him who caused it to be erected, is the only ornament within the temple, the place where Mr. Garrick and his select friends assemble. The furniture consists only of a dozen of chairs, made after the English fashion, one of which, higher and more adorned than the rest, is intended for the president.

Mr. Garrick does the honours of this monument in a manner, which enhances his merit in erecting it: "I owe every thing, says he, to Shakespeare: *si vivo & valeo, suum est*: this is but a weak testimony of a gratitude which knows no bounds."

This celebrated person is said to have been appointed by an English nobleman guardian to his only son. By this choice, and this monument of his gratitude to Shakespeare, Mr. Garrick may vie with those players of ancient Greece, who were not excluded, by their profession, from places that required the greatest abilities and the strictest probity. Demosthenes has preserved the memory of a noble action, of which Mr. Garrick would have been capable under the same circumstances : I shall here lay it before the reader, just as it is related by the Greek orator : it has escaped M. Rollin, and other modern authors who have published compilations of antient history.

“ After the taking of Olynthus, Philip celebrated the Olympic games with a magnificence, which drew all the companies of comedians that were scattered up and down the several cities of Greece. At a feast, which Philip gave them and in which he distributed crowns to those who most eminently distinguished themselves, he asked a celebrated comedian, *κωμικὸς ὑποκρητὴς*, whose name was Satyrus, why he alone of all the comedians asked nothing, and seemed to desire no favour ? Have you, added the prince, any reason to doubt of my munificence, or to apprehend a refusal ? I have no occasion, answered Satyrus, for any thing you give my companions : but with regard to what I really want, though it be in your power, and though you could very easily grant it me, I am inclined to think you will refuse it. Refuse you ? replied Philip with vivacity : speak, and depend upon obtaining whatever you ask. I had at Pidna, said Satyrus, a host and a friend, who was treacherously assassinated ; to secure his daughters from the attempts of his enemies, his family sent them to Olynthus, where it was thought they

they would be in the greatest safety. They are at present marriageable, and the taking of Olynthus has put them into your power. To you I apply for them, and beg you would give orders to have them consigned to my care. In case you grant my request, I'll tell you the use I purpose to make of your favour: I intend to portion off the daughters, to procure them husbands, and to treat them in a manner worthy of myself, and of their father, who was my friend. This discourse, being heard by the whole company, was followed by so general and loud applause, that Philip, being moved and affected by it, granted the comedian his request in favour of his friend's daughters, though that friend had been one of the assassins of Alexander, brother to this prince *."

A Comedian capable of so noble an action may be reckoned amongst the worthiest and most deserving citizens. Mr. Garrick is looked upon in this light by his countrymen; at the same time that they consider him as the greatest actor that ever appeared on the English stage. Thus England may, in every respect, revive in his favour, the panegyric made upon a person of his profession, in an antient inscription found at Milan, and preserved by Gruter: *Splendidissimum urbis ornamentum, & sui temporis primum.* "The most shining ornament of the city, and the chief ornament of his age."

I have already spoken of the statues of Sir Thomas Gresham and Sir John Barnard, erected as ornaments to the Royal-Exchange. The company of apothecaries has likewise erected one to Sir Hans Sloane, in the midst of the garden which he left them at Chelsea. The church-yard of that † village is adorned

* Demosth. Orat. de falsâ legatione.

† The celebrated Sir Thomas More was buried here.

with a funeral monument consecrated to the memory of the same knight, who was buried in this place. This monument is a lantern, under which we see a great urn of an elegant form: round this urn twine, in beautiful windings, two serpents, emblems of the knight's profession.

It happens unluckily, with regard to the three statues which I have been speaking of, that the sculptors, who were but indifferent artists, thought themselves obliged to represent them in the habit of ceremony worn by the knights-bannerets. This habit is a long and wide gaberdine, overcharged with buttons, button-holes, lace and fringe: and is as hard to represent by sculpture in the whole as in particular parts. The drapery of the kings and queens, whose statues adorn the inside of the Royal-Exchange, is in no better taste.

I have seen, in the sculptor's work-yard, who has undertaken to execute general Wolfe's monument (Mr. Wilton), the statue which the city of Cork proposes to erect in honour of the celebrated Mr. Pitt. Part of the bust of this statue is dressed in one of our modern habits: the remainder of the figure is wrapped up in a great mantle in the Greek taste: it is in the attitude of an orator, who is speaking in public, with a roll of paper in his left hand.

I saw at another sculptor's (Mr. Moore, a Dutchman) a statue of Mr. Beckford, just sketched out. He himself had ordered it to be made, at his own expence. This statue was entirely dressed according to the Roman fashion, and its whole attitude marked the most violent indignation at the sight of a bill, which he holds out unfolded in his left hand. Mr. Beckford was one of the most animated and vehement orators in the house of commons

mons against the last peace concluded with France and Spain.

The country-seats, in which the English noblemen display all their magnificence, and the courts and halls of the colleges, are adorned with ornaments of the same sort: a house, built in the Roman taste by lord Burlington at Chiswick, is adorned in front with a statue of Inigo Jones, an English architect, who flourished at the beginning of the last century.

All the statues which I have just spoken of, except the last, are of marble of Carrara, which at London costs about twenty-four livres the cubic foot. Artists have informed me, with as much astonishment on their side as mine, that this marble is not allowed to be imported to France, except upon the king's account.

The kings of the house of Stuart, and of that of Brunswic, have at London several statues as well equestrian as pedestrian*. Those of Charles the Second are the most beautiful: There is one of king James the Second still standing in the Privy-garden: the inscription has been almost entirely erased from the pedestal.

I shall now speak of the equestrian statue of Charles the First, which stands near Charing-cross, from whence it looks towards Whitehall, the place where that monarch was beheaded; and I shall speak of it only to remind the reader, that this statue being in the heat of the rebellion sold by auction, was knocked down at a low price, to a culer, who

* In Mr. Moore's work-yard, I have seen a pedestrian statue of George the Second, well executed in marble: it only waited for the last hand, to be removed and placed in the city of York, which had ordered and paid for it.

declared by advertisement, he would melt it down, and make handles for knives of it. He in fact caused knives with bronze handles to be exposed to sale in his shop, by which he soon made a fortune; the faction, which opposed the king, being all desirous of having some part of his statue debased to a knife-handle. The cutler, however, buried it under-ground; and at the time of the restoration of Charles the Second, gave it to that prince, who ordered it to be set upon a new pedestal in the place where it formerly stood. The fore-front of this pedestal contains the arms of England: the back of it is adorned with a large crown of thorns, which two geniuses appear to be at great pains to support *: a noble and yet simple emblem of the catastrophe of that monarch. The 30th of January is held as a solemn day by the church of England, and a long service is appointed in memory of the martyrdom of that prince. In one of the prayers of that day, they beseech the Almighty not "to require of the people of England the blood of the holy martyr, who meekly suffered all barbarous indignities, and at last resisted unto blood, and who, following the foot-steps of his blessed Master and Saviour, died praying for his murderers and executioners."

Westminster-abby is the grand depository of the monuments erected to the glory of the nation. Though, upon considering these monuments in themselves, as well as those to whose honour they have been erected, we do not find them all of equal merit, the intention of them is, notwithstanding, equally laudable. We see there, as in the Elysian shades of Virgil, those

* The wings of these two geniuses have been mutilated and broke.

who, by different sorts of merit, have served their country, or contributed to render it illustrious. Had all these monuments been raised by a public decree, at the expence of the nation, and not by the family or friends of each personage, England might, in this respect, vie with the most renowned republics of antiquity. The whole nation, notwithstanding, makes up for this, by the great attention it gives to these monuments. The abbey in which they stand is incessantly filled with crowds, who contemplate them: the lowest sort of people shew also their attention: I have seen herb-women holding a little book, which gives an account of them; I have seen milk-women getting them explained, and testifying, not a stupid admiration, but a lively and most significant surprize. I have seen the vulgar weep at the sight of Shakespeare's beautiful and expressive statue, which recalled to their memory those scenes of that celebrated poet, which had filled their souls with the most lively emotions *.

Sir Isaac Newton's monument occupies one of the most distinguished places in the abbey: the very

* One day, when Westminster-abbey was filled with spectators, a porter, who happened to pass through it, cried out, loud enough to be heard by all present, "How many lies do these stones contain!" This was the observation of a porter. These monuments seem indeed to expose those to whom they belong, to the same critical severity which the Egyptians shewed their dead, and to the satire with which the Romans bespattered their generals, when they made their triumphant processions. Amongst other satirical strokes of this sort, I was told of an epigram made upon a governor of Gibraltar, who had raised an immense fortune by that post, and to whom one of the most magnificent monuments in Westminster-abbey has been erected. The epigrammatist, addressing himself to his statue, says, "Take care how you quit your post; the Devil is watching for you: and from your pedestal, you must fall plump into hell."

same which is taken up at Notre-Dame at Paris by St. Germain, upon the altar parallel to that of the blessed Virgin. Beneath the great statue, surrounded with books, globes, &c. we read, in Latin verses, an epitaph, which some passenger thinking too prolix, and wanting sufficient energy, wrote with his pencil upon the cube, which make one of the ornaments : *virum si nescis, abito.* "If you know not the man's character, depart."

In the south cross of the church has been erected the statue of Dr. Busby, master of Westminster-school. This statue, admirably executed, and placed amongst the monuments of the poets, &c. struck me by its exact resemblance for beauty and truth to the celebrated Languet, curate of St. Sulpice's church at Paris.

Pope has no monument erected to him in Westminster-abbey. I asked the reason of this; and was told, that he had deprived himself of that honour, by living and dying in the Roman Catholic communion *.

Some foreigners make a figure in this illustrious company. Handel, the learned Casaubon, St. Evremont, &c. have monuments erected in honour of them, which seem to refute Horace's reproach upon the Britons †. That of Casaubon was erected, not by the chapter of Westminster, of which he was a member, but by a prelate named Morton, who was his friend.

I shall say more of Westminster-abbey under the article of *Arts*: but I must here beg leave to express

* Here the author must have been misinformed; Mr. Dryden died a Roman catholic, and yet his monument is among the poets in Westminster-abbey. T.

† *Vixam Britannos hospitibus feros.*

my wishes for a collection, in which the monuments of this abbey most worthy of notice, either on account of their execution, or the merit of those to whom they are consecrated, should be represented in copper-plates, done by the best masters: this collection would acquire a new value, if executed at the expence of the nation.

The kings of England are buried in Westminster-Abbey; the tombs of some of them, particularly those of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth, are executed in the most masterly manner, and the utmost care*. Queen Elizabeth has but one epitaph, which, on account of its noble simplicity, and the princess who is the subject of it, can be deemed out of place no where.

Memoriæ sacrum.

Religione ad primævam sinceritatem restaurata; Pace fundatā; Monetā ad justum valorem reductā; Rebellione domestica vindicata; Gallia malis præcipiti intestinis sublevata; Belgio sustentato; Hispanica classe profigata; Hibernia, pulsis Hispanis, et rebellibus ad deditiōnem coactis, pacata; Reditibus utriusque academiæ, lege annonariā, plurimum adauētis; Totā denique Angliā ditatā, prudentissimeque annos quadraginta quinque administrata;

Elizabetha regina, victrix, triumphatrix, pacatrix, hic quiescit.

“ Sacred to memory.

Having restored religion to its first purity. Established peace. Reduced the coin to its just

* An odd distinction has been made between these monuments and those of the illustrious personages. The latter may be visited every day, at all hours, and for nothing. There is no admission to the others, except on certain days, certain hours, and upon paying six-pence.

standard. Punished rebellious subjects at home. Relieved France, which was almost ruined by civil wars. Supported Holland. Defeated the Spanish Armada. Having established peace in Ireland, repulsed the Spaniards, and compelled the rebels of that country to submit. Having greatly increased the revenues of both universities, by a law relative to corn. Finally, having enriched all England, and governed it with the most consummate prudence during forty-five years :

Queen Elizabeth the victorious, the triumphant, the peace-maker, reposes here.

The succeeding kings have not been as well used by successors, as the men of learning and virtuosos by their family or their friends : we see no monuments erected in honour of their memory. To make up for this, waxen images of them, dressed from head to foot, are placed in the chapels where they are buried : a poor expedient, which presents only large puppets to our view.

The honours, which are paid great men in preference to kings, the exploits of illustrious warriors, which are represented to the eye of the public, without any relation to the sovereigns from whom they held their commissions *, are some of those happy effects of national pride, which they encourage and perpetuate, and which, being thus excited, must be

* The kings of England behave to their generals, in this respect, as the emperor Claudius did to his; and this is the only matter for panegyric, which history could find in the life of that prince : *Adeo civilis fuit, ut etiam Plautium, qui in expeditione Britannicā plurima egregia fecerat, triumphantem ipse prosequeretur, & condescendi capitolio lœvus incederet.* Eutrop. l. vii. "He was so complaisant, that he condescended to follow Plautius himself, when he triumphed ; and walked on his left, as he ascended the Capitol."

productive of the same effects as those displayed in ancient republics.

This national pride has a support equally efficacious and powerful in that multitude of compositions, which, like the sound of so many trumpets, incessantly remind the English of the excellence of their government, the happiness of liberty, and all the virtues which are calculated to secure and maintain those blessings.

France has happily experienced the powerful influence of works of this nature. Books of chivalry, which were long their favourite amusement, had established amongst the French that happy mixture of bravery and politeness, of which the chevalier Bayard was one of the last models. These romances were followed by a translation of Plutarch's lives : It spread amongst the nobility and people, with a profusion, which evidently appears from the many editions of that excellent work : in short, it became the favourite book of the nation. " We should have been lost, says Montaigne, book ii. chap. 4, if that book had not raised us out of the mire : thanks be to that work, we now venture to write and speak freely : ladies can now dictate to men of learning : it is our common-place book."

Henry the Fourth reaped the fruit of the seeds of virtue, which that book had scattered throughout the nation : to it he was indebted for those adherents, whose upright and pure intentions, seconded by the love of their country, raised him to the throne, and fixed him there in spite of terror and seduction. That prince preferring, from his character, and perhaps from policy, the candour, frankness, and good-nature of Plutarch, to all the malicious refinements, with which Tacitus poisons his readers, did not approve that his courtiers should pore over the latter. " One day, find-

ing Neufvy reading Tacitus, and being apprehensive that his bold genius might soar too high, he advised him to throw that author aside, and rather to read the history of military men like himself*.”

The examples of virtue, courage, and patriotism, which occur in every page of Plutarch, soon had imitators. They thought; they made efforts to act in a manner worthy of the Greeks and Romans; and France gave birth to men, who, having an eye to posterity, flattered themselves, that they should be able to endear their memory to it. The army had its Montmorency's, its Du Bellays, its Chatillions, its Montlucs, its La Noues, its Castelnau's, and those renowned warriors, whose memorable exploits and sayings Brantome has collected, in imitation of Plutarch. The gown had its de L'Hôpitals, its Harlais, its De Thous, its Pibracs, its Pithous, its Servins: the revenue itself had its Sully. These men, who may be compared to the greatest of the Greeks and Romans, both for sentiment and conduct, had likewise that spirit, or, if the reader rather chuses to call it so, that pride, which is the constant concomitant of superior merit, when joined by a conscience void of offence. We have standing monuments of this noble pride in the memoirs, where most of these illustrious men have laid before the eyes both of their contemporaries and posterity their conduct and actions, the principles upon which they proceeded, the motives which directed them, and the ends which they had in view †.

* Hist. Secret. de D'Aubigné, p. 2. See the Preface to the Political Annals of the abbé de Saint-Pierre.

† *Dicebantur eodem animi ingenioque a quo gesta erant,* “they were resolved with the same mind and spirit that they were performed,” says Livy, speaking of Scipio’s apology, in the person of that hero: an apology, in which he went so far as to say to the Romans, *Orcet deus ut nci similes principes habeatis.* “Pray to the gods, that

Tacitus, speaking of the writings of the same sort left us by the Greeks and Romans, who lived in the brilliant days of the republic, has sketched out to us the history of our illustrious French ancestors and their memoirs. “ Amongst our ancestors, says that author, the force of public virtue having turned the most memorable actions into habit, that happy habit produced virtuous historians, without flattery, without private views, and unbiassed by any other interest but that of truth: many of them even went so far as to write the history of their own lives; and herein they were not actuated by presumption, but by that confidence which virtue inspires: Rutilius and Scaurus did this; and they neither incurred censure, nor had incredulity to combat. So true it is, that the most virtuous ages are best qualified to judge of virtue.”

you may always have princes like me.” “ It appears to me, said the admiral de Coligni, in his account of the siege of St. Quintin, which he sustained in 1557, that nothing is more proper than that those who are invested with great posts and dignities should give a faithful account of their actions, if it were only for the following reason: it often happens, that those who have been concerned in the same expedition publish a different account of it; some do this to insinuate to the reader, that nothing could escape them; others are so fond of prating, that they are desirous of talking of what they know nothing of; there are others again, who speak by passion and prejudice, as they happen to like or dislike people. With regard to myself, adds he, I have courage sufficient to defend myself as every man of virtue and honour should do, and to answer every man according to his quality, without having recourse to writing like the lawyers.” Henry the Fourth himself was inspired by this noble pride. He directed and encouraged the work of M. de Thou, whose chief view was to write a history of his reign. By his orders, the president Jeannin had written the same history, with all the freedom required of him by that prince.

[†] *Apud priores, ut agere memoratu digna prorum magisque in aperito erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio, ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bone tantum conscientiae pretio dutebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsius vitam narrare, fiduciam potius mortum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt. Nec id Rutilio aut Scauro citra*

To these ages others succeeded, in which, to use the words of Plutarch in his parallel between Lucullus and Cimon, it seldom happens, that heroic minds please the vulgar, or are acceptable to them.

These ages may be easily distinguished. In the former, that pride prevails, which is blamed by some, and which others admire, in the English * : succeeding ages are the reign of vanity †.

In the one, men appear and shew themselves such as they really are : in the other, they exist only by illusion and deceit : at the bottom, both are actuated by the self-same love : in great souls, this is pride ; in narrow minds it is vanity ‡. Pride is the source of all great achievements || : vanity is the mother of

*fidem aut obtrectationi fuit. Adeo virtutes iisdem fere temporibus affi-
mantur, quibus facillime gignuntur.*

Tac. Vit. Agrip. in proem.

Amongst our ancestors, as there was a greater facility and more frequent opportunities of performing memorable exploits, every man endowed with a superiority of genius was excited to record his virtuous deeds without ambition or the hope of reward, and having no recompence in view but the testimony of a good conscience. And most of them looked upon writing their lives rather as a proof of confidence in the purity of their manners, than any instance of arrogance and presumption. Nor did Rutilius or Scaurus, in acting thus, find it difficult to gain credit with their readers, or incur any censure. Thus are virtues generally held in the highest esteem, in those ages in which they are most easily produced."

* This has occasioned the old French proverb : *fier comme un Ecuois*, "as proud as a Scot."

† In the Life of Benedict the Fourth, Platina remarks, with regard to the Popes, the transition from a century of pride to a century of vanity : *Acciderat huic ætati*, says he, *ut hominum industria in quovis genere virtutis consenseret, nullis calcaribus adhibitis quibus hominum ingenia ad laudem excita-entur, &c.* "It happened, that, in this age, the industry of men in all things laudable was worn out, no means being used to spur and excite the minds of men to virtuous deeds," &c.

‡ In the fifth chapter of his Baron de Fæneste, entitled *des Glories*, D'Aubigny calls vanity, *The Barber's Glory* : it is that of the Mendicant Friars, who cannot, without indignation, bear to have a title in which the Jesuits prided themselves.

|| *Priores sine matre.* "An offspring without a mother."

all

all things of a frivolous nature *, as for example, of fashions, of the etiquette or court punctilio, of ceremonial, of precedence, of honorary privileges, of pomp and parade, and all those objects, with which little souls are so greatly captivated,

Quas tulit in scenam ventoso gloria curru †.

Vanity subsists like water-spiders † in a bottle of air: all its views tend to enlarge its shining atmosphere: even the swelling of a name is an object of its pursuit; and it thinks it has made a considerable acquisition, when it has gained an additional syllable, a letter, &c. Æschines the orator betrayed this littleness of mind, upon his becoming a statesman: Demosthenes reproaches him with having, at that time, added two syllables to his father's name, by changing *Tromes* into *Atrometos* ‡. Pride never descends to these minutenesses: without going any farther than England to prove this, we might safely lay any wager, that Mr. Pitt would not change a name consisting of a monosyllable, and which has been rendered illustrious by his administration, and the affection of a whole nation, for a title ever so pompous and high-sounding ¶.

Pride is like a man in easy circumstances, who lives at home, and enjoys himself: vanity is a beggar, that stands at the corner of the streets: as of all ranks in life, beggary is the condition most dreaded, vain persons, who are naturally the enemies of all

* *Proles sine patre.* “An offspring without a father.”

† Chasseneuz has united all the objects of this false glory in a folio volume, entitled, *Catalogus Glorie Mundi*, “A catalogue of worldly glory.”

‡ These insects are to be found only in marshes of standing water.

|| Δύο σιλλαχάς ωροσθεῖς, τὸν μὲν παλέφα αὐτὶ Τεόμηνος ἐποίειν 'Ατρόμητον. Demosth. pro corona. “Adding two syllables to the name of his father, he reads it *Atrometos* instead of *Tromes*.

¶ This was written before Mr. Pitt had accepted the peerage, with the title of Earl of Chatham. See the article, *Government*.

that resemble them, are incapable of setting a proper estimate upon whatever is raised above their little sphere.

We meet with a striking example of the false judgments passed by vanity, in that of cardinal du Perron upon the celebrated Fra. Paolo: “ I saw that man the second time I went to Venice, says the cardinal: I did not observe in him any thing eminent. He has solid judgement and good sense; but no great fund of learning or knowledge. I perceived nothing in him but what was quite ordinary, and little above the common merit of a monk.” The vanity of Du Perron was interested in passing a judgment still more unfavourable upon the cardinal D’Ossat. Besides, he looked on Henry the Fourth as a man, who understood nothing of music or poetry, and who had to answer for all the evil which the Hugonots, whom he could have crushed, might do to France*.

Vanity hates pride, but the latter contents itself with despising the former. One proud man may reasonably conceive an esteem for another, if they do not run the same course; and so much the more, as a great soul is always best able to form a judgment of its equal. The pride of Cæsar was different from that of Cicero. The orator esteemed and dreaded Cæsar as the most enterprizing person of the

* Perroniana. Du Perron was archbishop of Sens, cardinal, and great Almoner of France: *Mercedem accepit suam, vanus vanam.* “ He received his reward; being a vain man, he had a vain recompence.” What sort of figure does Du Perron now make, that vile promoter of the pretensions and claims of the Italians, in comparison of those, on whom his vanity knew so little how to set a proper value! With regard to the reproach which he makes Henry the Fourth, the same reproach was made him by Ravaillac; and this was the first pretext which armed that parricide’s hands, as he himself declared, when examined by the judges.

age in which he lived : Cæsar esteemed Cicero, whom he little feared, as the first orator of Rome. Cicero however lies greatly under the imputation of vanity, and that of the narrowest sort. With regard to eloquence, learning and acquired knowledge, it was impossible for him not to have a due sense of his merit, and this was in him a justifiable pride ; but when he was so vain-glorious as to consider himself as the greatest politician of his age, that was pure vanity*.

The great disadvantage, which arises from the most legitimate pride, is the difficulty to conceal it, and the offence, which it gives the generality of mankind, whose vanity is hurt by it : it does not form those generous souls, who know how to accommodate themselves to the humour and taste of the different societies with which they happen to join. Vanity, by taking offence, established the ostracism at Athens ; a law, which is carried into execution in all countries in the same cases as at Athens ; a law, which does not so much punish the superiority of one citizen over the rest, as his imprudence in discovering it ; in a word, a law that bore a strong resemblance to that of Lycurgus, which punished theft, only when the delinquent was caught in the fact.

This imprudence has, in part, characterized men of extraordinary merit in every age. These men, passionately fond of glory, exerting themselves to their utmost to acquire it, encompassed by envious and ignorant persons, who were obstinately bent upon running them down, lived by themselves : the haughtiness of their souls could not bend to that

* *Quid hoc levius ? At quantus orator !* “ What could be more vain than this man ? Yet how great an orator was he ! ” This is applicable to Cicero himself, though he said it of Demosthenes, when he reproached that orator with a vain action. *Tuscul.* Quæst. l. vi.

suppleness and condescension which are the strongest ties of society and common life : their self-love was not the intimate friend of the vanity of others *. Such were in the latter centuries ; Michael Angelo, Malherbe, Corneille, Milton, Bossuet, Lulli ; and in our own days, Voltaire, Bouchardon, and the immortal Rameau†.

The morality of the Christian religion offers humility as a counterpoise to vanity ; but it gives none to pride, which, without debasing itself in its own eyes, can perform all the duties enjoined by the most profound humility ‡ ; it must be acknowledged, that one of these duties is, to think humbly of one's self ; but could Scipio || do what the most abject, the lowest and the meanest of wretches amongst us cannot perform without the aid of divine grace and supernatural assistance ?

When Alexander, in the midst of his victories, exclaimed, " O Athenians, what do we not attempt, to make you talk of us ?" was this exclamation dictated by pride, or by vanity ? If the king of Prussia had, in his last campaigns, said this to the news-writers of Paris, it would have been the most

* Madame de Sevigné, in a letter of the 11th of September, 1689, paid this compliment to her friend Corbinelli.

† See the Life of Rameau, by M. Marret.

‡ *Gloriosa res humilitas : hanc ipsa superbia palliare se appetit, ne vilescat.* " humility is an admirable thing : even pride itself endeavours to wear this mask, lest it should grow contemptible," said Peter de Blois, a writer who was naturalized in England. Roman pride was akin to the greatest modesty. Livy comparing his own age to that of the true grandeur of the Romans, says : *hanc modestiam animique altitudinem ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tunc universi populi fuit ?* " Where will you now find that modesty and greatness of soul in a single individual, which was then so conspicuous in a whole people ? "

|| *Pub. Scipionis major animus & natura erat, & majori fortuna affectus quam ut sci et submittere se in humilitatem.* Livy. " Publius Scipio's soul was too great by nature, and accustomed to too great prosperity, for him to know how to humble himself.

despi-

despicable vanity; but the people of Athens, still instructed by the best lessons, and encompassed by monuments erected to civil and military virtues, were a judge, whose applause might appear flattering and desirable even to true pride. *Ab iis summa laus proficiuntur qui ipsi inter laudes vixerunt.* Cicer. “The highest praises arise from those, who have themselves been deserving of praise.”

I place these considerations in this part of my work with the greater confidence *, as they are a recapitulation of the conversation I had with the most prejudiced Englishmen concerning the source of national pride, and that of individuals †; of which, the former is the result. “Free nations are proud, says M. de Montesquieu; others may more naturally be vain‡.”

A regard for posterity is the first food of patriotic pride: this regard operates in the order of nature what should follow in the supernatural order from a firm belief of the immortality of the soul. It is this view or regard, this || desire of engaging the attention of posterity, and interesting it in our behalf, that has, during these two centuries, procured England, and London in particular, a number of foundations, whose magnificence is equal to their utility. I shall here give some account of a few, which happened to come to my knowledge ¶.

* Addison has treated upon this subject in his Spectator, No. 31.

† Man is not of so much worth as he thinks himself.

‡ Spirit of Laws, book xix. chap. 20.

|| Montagne, book ii. chap. 12. Ariosto has, in three verses, described the object of this desire with as much energy as truth:

*Quel odor che sol riman di noi,
Posciache il resto fragile è defunto,
Che trae l'huom del sepolcro e in vita il serba.*

Cant. vii. st. 41.

¶ Here no foundations are in question, but those of private persons: I shall speak elsewhere of public foundations, formed and supported at the expence of the nation.

I have

I have already made mention of the college founded, and the Royal-Exchange erected, by Sir Thomas Gresham*, as likewise of the garden given to the Company of Apothecaries by Sir Hans Sloane. The magnificence of that physician has not confined itself to making them a present of the ground, which, considering its extent, and the place where it stands, was, in itself, a donation of great importance. This ground has long been consecrated to the cultivation of exotic plants; as sufficiently appears from cedars of Mount Libanus, now full grown, which give shade to a little piece of water in the midst of the garden. The physician, after being honoured with the equestrian title, acquired this garden, and spared nothing to put it upon a level with the king's garden at Paris; and it was when he had brought it to such a degree of perfection at his own expence, that he made a present of it to the Apothecaries, assigning funds for it at the same time, the annual income of which is almost sufficient to support and keep it in repair.

Though I happened to be at the very gate of this garden, I could not find it; and no body could direct me, on account of my manner of pronouncing the word *apothecary*: I was extricated out of this perplexity by a person, who accosted me in a very obliging manner, and informed me, that he was a native of Lower Normandy; that his name was Tellier, and he was master of Chelsea-school. He offered me all the service in his power; and, in short, gave me the assistance I most wanted, that of conducting me to the Physic-garden.

* In this college he established professors of divinity, civil law, physic, geometry, astronomy, music, and rhetoric.

The college is now pulled down, to make room for the Excise-office, and the public lectures are given in a room over the Royal-Exchange. T.

The college of physicians had a benefactor belonging to their body, who, in 1652, built the house where they perform their public exercises, adorned it with a rich library, and, for the support of that establishment, bequeathed his whole fortune. This benefactor was the celebrated Harvey, so well known in the medical world, by his discovery of the circulation of the blood. In this foundation, he followed the example set him by the learned Linacer, the first founder of this society *. A Latin oration is annually pronounced in praise of the founders and benefactors of the college.

When the Roman catholic was the established religion of England, the neighbourhood of London was filled with religious houses, well built, opulent, and agreeably situated. Henry the Eighth, Edward, and Elizabeth, having suppressed these houses; the buildings, and part of the revenues of some, were saved from pillage by the endeavours of a few worthy citizens, who applied them to public uses, as colleges, hospitals, &c. the stability of which they secured by considerable foundations.

Thus the monastery of the Carthusians, which still goes by the name of the Charter-house, is converted into an alms-house: this vast building, surrounded with beautiful gardens, supports and maintains eighty old men, called pensioners, who live together; and forty-four boys, who there receive their education; besides twenty-four students at the Universities. For if the boys have a genius for learning, they are sent to the universities, where they are allowed twenty pounds annually during eight years; if they happen to take another turn, they are put apprentices to some trade, at their option.

* History of Physic, by Dr. Freind.

This hospital was founded in the last century, by one Mr. Sutton ; who, after having spent seven thousand pounds to fit up the house, endowed it with four thousand pounds a year, now improved to six thousand pounds.

Thomas Guy, a bookseller, with great munificence, founded an hospital for the sick and impotent, at the charge of near two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The hospitals for Foundlings and Inoculation are late foundations, and equally noble. The Foundlings are educated either for the sea or the army : in consequence of this destination, they are taught to swim when very young. Happening to go to Chelsea one evening in the month of April, I saw a number of these boys, quaking and swimming, under the inspection of a master, in a reservoir of water raised by a fire engine.

An Englishman, whose name is known all over Europe, Sir Robert Cotton, collected, at his own expence, the most valuable remains of the libraries of several monasteries ; that is to say, the effects of those houses, which, at the time of their being plundered and demolished, were taken least notice of by the destroyers ; and to these remains, he joined a considerable part of the archives of the crown, often dispersed and scattered by revolutions. All men of learning, whether English or foreigners, during his life-time, enjoyed this immense collection, which increased every day ; and to secure the use of it to them, he bequeathed it to the public. The parliament, considering itself as the heir, in the name of the public and the nation, took the best measures it could, to give the benefaction of that learned and generous citizen all the stability, which its utility deserves.

serves. Since Montague-house was set apart for the Museum Britannicum, the Cotton Library has been transferred thither, for the greater convenience of the public.

I must not omit a private undertaking of a different nature, but equally important. The works upon the river Thames were not sufficient to supply the higher quarters of London with water. At the beginning of the last century, a private gentleman formed and executed, at his own expence, for the inhabitants of London, the kind of project lately set on foot for the city of Paris by Mr. De Parcieux, and which the Parisians do not seem in haste to carry into execution, though more simple, and less expensive. Sir Hugh Middleton brought up to London, from a distance of sixty miles, in the winding course, a river, which flows in a canal, cut deep through the land, and over two vales, by means of troughs. It has eight hundred bridges over it. This great work was begun and compleated in five years, during which time it kept six hundred workmen incessantly employed.

All England is filled with such monuments of patriotic magnificence ; amongst which, we may reckon the colleges of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the fellowships founded, and the libraries established, in those colleges. None of these establishments is the work of the nation : some of them are royal foundations ; but these are eclipsed by several institutions of private persons. I shall here name only the Sheldon theatre at Oxford. The history of the two universities gives us all the information we can desire, with regard to these particulars.

I must add to these establishments, 1. A column of considerable dimensions, with its pedestal and its chapter,

piter, in the middle of a place, called the Seven Dials, where seven streets meet. Mr. Neal, a private person, who lived in that part of the town, formed the plan of it, which he caused to be carried into execution at his own expence.

2. The fair stone bridge over the river Avon, at Stratford, in the county of Warwick. This bridge, of fourteen arches, was built by Hugh Clopton, lord-mayor of London, who, being a native of that place, was willing to leave to the town that gave him birth, a monument of his affection.

3. The port of Ely, upon the eastern coast of the province of Fife in Scotland. About the middle of the last century, that port was lined all the way with a stone wall, at the expence of a Scotch nobleman, who had no other object in view, but the advantage and ornament of the place of his nativity.

4. Several bridges built between London and Oxford, by Mr. Dicker, who, having made a fortune in America, came, twenty years after, to spend it in the service of the country where he was born, and in which he, by that means, became *Pontifex Maximus*. Amongst these bridges, that which he caused to be thrown over the Thames at Walton makes a conspicuous figure : the building cost ten thousand pounds. The lands divided by the Thames, and which this bridge may be said to unite, have thereby greatly increased their value.

5. Lastly, The harbour which one of the Laval family * caused to be opened in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, in a place filled by a vast rock, which it

* They trace the origin of their family up to one of the Lavals of France, who went over to England with William the Conqueror.

was found necessary to attack with the resolution, and at the expence, required by enterprizes of that nature.

I shall not place amongst these establishments, Kew-bridge, built of wood across the river Thames, six miles from London. The person who built it, obtained a toll, to be collected from passengers. The present king, having made Richmond the place of his summer residence, passes over this bridge to and from London, and is obliged to pay this toll in common with his subjects. So sacred is the right of English property.

Such is the influence of the national character in England, that the people know no medium between prodigality and the most rigid œconomy. The parsimonious find means, by their frugality, to bear the expence of all the public foundations and erections, which I have already mentioned. As they do not pique themselves upon living and dressing like other people, nor square their tastes by those of their neighbours, they are uninfluenced by example, superior to prejudices, and entirely concentered within themselves. They spend or save money as they think proper, and when they think proper; in fine, with an income insufficient for thousands in the same circumstances, they find a superfluity, which they accumulate, either to leave a great fortune to their heirs, or to indulge such fancies as those I have been mentioning: fancies, which, with English pride, supply the place of a variety of equipages, of lace, jewels, and all the transient brilliancy, that national vanity elsewhere substitutes to solid and durable monuments, such as adorned Athens and Rome*,

* *Publicam magnificentiam depopulatur privata luxuries.* Paterc. l. ii. "The luxury of private persons destroys public magnificence."

and, in the eyes of posterity, will also be the ornament of England.

I have been told, on this occasion, of an event, which occurred in common life, but is most strikingly odd and singular; especially with respect to those, who think and act like the vulgar.

A collection was made, to build the hospital of Bedlam. Those who were employed to gather this money, came to a small house, the door of which was half open; from the entry, they overheard an old man scolding his servant-maid, who, having made use of a match in kindling the fire, had afterwards indiscreetly thrown it away, without reflecting that the match, having still the other extremity dipped in sulphur, might be of further service. After diverting themselves a while with the dispute, they knocked, and presented themselves before the old gentleman. As soon as they told him the cause of their coming, he went into a closet, from whence he brought four hundred guineas, and reckoning the money in their presence, he put it into their bag. The collectors being astonished at this generosity, which they little expected, could not help testifying their surprize; and told the old fellow what they had heard. "Gentlemen, said he, your surprize is occasioned by a thing of very little consequence. I keep house, and save or spend money my own way: the one furnishes me with the means of doing the other: and both equally gratify my inclinations. With regard to benefactions and donations, always expect most from prudent people, who keep their accounts."

When he had spoken thus, he turned them out of his house without ceremony, and shut the door, not thinking half so much of the four hundred guineas, which he had just given away, as of the match that had been thrown into the fire *.

I was witness to an act of munificence, of which an ingenious man, little favoured by fortune, was the object. In an assembly as numerous as brilliant, the conversation happened to turn upon a new publication, which was highly praised by a nobleman, who had just perused it. A person in company, understanding, from what the nobleman said, that he was a stranger to the author, went in quest of him, knowing him to be hard by, and introduced him to the nobleman; at the same time, intimating, that he stood in need of pecuniary assistance. His lordship coldly told the author, that he liked the work very well, and, drawing out his purse, made him a present of it: the author received it with as much indifference as it was given. I followed him, and saw him reckon the contents, which amounted to sixty-two guineas.

Societies, whose object is the cultivation of sciences, literature, and arts, were formed by the spirit of patriotism, which abundantly supplies them with every assistance and encouragement. I shall hereafter give the reader an account of these meetings.

Let us conclude this article with that multitude of subscriptions, which are every day set on foot, and

* Thus the love of order, which makes a part of the English character, tyrannizes over those whom it inspires. I was shewn a very extraordinary example of the power of this tyranny in a man of the lower sort, who walked upon two wooden legs. He had broken a leg in leaping a ditch; he therefore, through uniformity, cut off his other leg: an account of this was published in the news-papers, in which the action was praised, and received with an admiration highly advantageous to the brave lover of uniformity.

filled up, throughout England, to assist indigence; to relieve those who have suffered by unforeseen losses; and to contribute to the execution of designs tending to public utility. During my residence in London, a subscription was opened in favour of the Calas's of Toulouse. The injustice complained of by this family raised the indignation of the English the more, as it was committed in France. This interest procured the most favourable reception to M. Elie de Beaumont, who went over to London, after having prosecuted and obtained, at the court of Versailles, the revocation of the decree of the parliament of Toulouse.

The common people, that is to say, an assemblage of mean and little souls, can see nothing in the patriotic munificence, of which England presents us so many examples, but the desire of popularity and reputation; a desire unknown to those, who have so little regard for their characters as to dread the inspection of the public: a desire utterly unknown to the man, who, being despicable in his own eyes, can expect nothing but contempt from shewing himself: men of this sort have a rule laid down for their conduct in the Pythagorean maxim, *Conceal thy manner of living.* But a man of sentiment can brave all ills, except contempt. And even allowing the desire of acquiring a reputation to be one of the collateral branches of patriotic munificence, what can be more agreeable to every idle spectator, than that this desire should spread; that the examples should be multiplied; and that every man should endeavour to make the world speak of him, at the same expence?

The mob, that is to say, fools, who are always malicious,

Car de tout mal sottise est le vrai type,

"For folly is the type of ev'ry ill*,"

judging of others by themselves †, imagine patriotic magnificence to have a personal interest, either remote or immediate, in view ; and even, if these views should never be realized, they chuse rather to suppose that they were disappointed, than acknowledge their error.

V A L O U R.

MILITARY glory, which, in the annals of ancient chivalry, had placed king Arthur, and the knights of the round table, in the first class of heroes ; and the great exploits, which, in ages more enlightened, have preserved that glory to the inhabitants of Great-Britain ; had likewise their source in the national character of the English, and in that melancholy which is its predominant principle.

"Cato the elder once answered certain persons, that bestowed high praises upon a man, who was beyond measure daring in the perils and hazards of war, that there was a great difference between setting a value upon virtue, and undervaluing one's life : which was wisely said. We are told, that Antigonus had in his service a soldier, who was very intrepid, but, at the same time, in a very indifferent state of health. The king asked him one day, how he came to be so pale, and had so sickly a complexion. The soldier made answer, that it proceeded from a disorder, the cause of which was utterly unknown to him. Upon hearing this, Antigonus commanded his physicians to examine the nature of the

* Rousseau, Ep. to Cl. Marot.

† I was myself a witness of a supposition of this sort, with regard to a monument raised to the memory of M. de Maupertuis, in the church of St. Roch in Paris.

disease, and to cure him, if possible. The physicians exerted themselves in such a manner, that they restored the soldier to his health. But as soon as he recovered, he ceased to behave with the same alacrity, and to brave danger as before. Antigonus perceiving this one day, upbraided him; telling him, that he was astonished to observe so great a change in his behaviour. The soldier did not conceal the cause; but said to him: You yourself, Sire, have made me less intrepid than I was, by getting me cured of the disease which made me indifferent about life. The saying of a certain Sibarite, concerning the Lacedæmonians, inculcates the same lesson; he observed, that it was no wonder they should be ready to die in war, in order to be delivered from so rough and miserable a life as they were obliged to lead."

From these facts, collected by Plutarch, in the opening of the life of Pelopidas, it results, that melancholy, and the uneasiness which it occasions, both in body and mind, may have a great influence upon valour, considered as arising from the contempt of life; and that they may have had some share in the most brilliant actions of the English, as well in their ancient expeditions against France, as in their civil wars.

The historian, who has given us the life of one of the greatest captains that France ever produced, in an age most fruitful in military virtues, viz. the author of the Life of the chevalier Bayard, observes, that his hero was troubled, for seven years, with a quartan ague: now this was the very time that established his reputation.

The ill state of health of marshal Saxe, at the battle of Fontenoy, perhaps contributed to the success of the French: he defeated the English with
the

the weapon in which they put most confidence, I mean, the disgust of life, and the contempt of death.

But, without quitting England, its history presents us with an illustrious example of this kind, in the renowned Richard the First. That prince, upon his ascending the throne, did his utmost to forward the expedition to the Holy Land, which his father, Henry the Second, had undertaken without intending ever to carry it into execution. He set sail for Palestine, took the island of Cyprus by the way, raised the Christians engaged in the crusade from their distressed condition, and even awed Saladin himself by continued acts of valour and bravery, which procured him the sur-name of *Cœur-de-lion*. When this prince set out for the Holy Land, it was doubted whether he would ever return to England, on account of his ill state of health, as he had been a long time troubled with a quartan ague*.

S U I C I D E.

FROM the disgust of life, and the contempt of death, arises the first and capital evil which melancholy occasions amongst the English: I mean, their turn to suicide.

Henry Stephens, in his *Apology for Herodotus*, chap. 18. entitled, *Concerning the Homicides of our Age*, makes an enquiry into the causes of suicide, and thinks he finds them in the troubled conscience of

* *In orientalis expeditionis labore, cito absymendus videbatur quartano incommodo, quo diu laboraverat correptus & tabidus. Indices in eo apparebant, cum pallore faciei, membrorum corpulentia.* Gul. Neubr. de Reb. Angl. l. iv. c. 5.

"It was thought he soon would be wasted away by the quartan ague, with which he had long been troubled, and consumed to a skeleton. The symptoms which appeared outwardly were, a pale complexion, and swollen limbs."

those that yield to their despair. “ When all the forms of a trial are completed in the mind by an extraordinary process ; the sentence is put in execution by extraordinary means*.”

The last and most extensive of the duke de Rochefoucault’s moral reflections is consecrated to this subject. He there maintains : “ That the contempt of death is never real—that men may have many reasons to be disgusted with life, but that they can never have any to despise death.—The glory of dying resolutely, adds he, the hope of being regretted, the desire of acquiring renown, the certainty of being delivered from the miseries of this life, and no longer dependant upon the caprice of fortune, are remedies by no means to be rejected ; but how weak and insufficient are these struggles, to support the soul against the severest of all trials !”

Remarking elsewhere (Reflection 24.) upon the contempt of death affected by many condemned criminals : “ he sees nothing in that contempt of death, but the fear of looking it in the face : insomuch, adds he, that this contempt is to their souls what the handkerchief is to their eyes.”

Other French authors have ascribed the suicide of the English to the affectation of singularity, and the desire of holding a distinguished place in the public papers.

* The Stoic philosophy adopted at Rome, in the last century of the Roman republic, inculcated different sentiments. In conformity to the ideas of this philosophy, Virgil, in the 6th Æneid, places those in Hell,

*Qui sibi Lethum
Insontes peperere manu, lucemque peros
Projecere animas.*

And represents their regret of life, as their chief torment :

*Quam vellent æthere in alto
Nunc & pauperiem & duros perferre labores !*

The Italians, who are in this respect more knowing, because melancholy has great influence over them*, have, in the order of sins, placed suicide the last of those heinous crimes, which they call *Accidia*. They consider this sin as the source of the soul's lukewarmness to good; of its opposition to the cries of conscience; of the refractoriness of the mind to the dogmas of religion; and finally, of that last and highest pitch of despair, which excites a man to lay violent hands upon himself.

The ingenious Pascal was, doubtless, ignorant of this, when he rallied the good Escobar for defining the last of the capital sins, a grief that spiritual things should be spiritual. The very word grief, *tristitia*, made use of in this definition, lost its original signification, when it passed from Italy to France. Synonymous to *Accidia*, it denoted in the mouth of an Italian, *malice* or *wickedness*, rather than an affliction of mind, or dejection of soul. It was divested of its nature, when transplanted to a country, where melancholy and its concomitant affections were neither known nor felt. No sadness was ever known there, but a transient concern, which time and dissipation dispel: the people of this country had no idea of the excesses into which men are hurried by yielding to the impressions of melancholy: this despair is the seventh in the Italian catalogue of mortal sins. Divines, in order to make up the number of sins, have substituted to this, which is unknown in France, a sin, which, even according to the definition given in

* Some of their authors have adopted the rigid system of the Stoics, with regard to suicide. *Quicquam non potest*, said Seneca, *qui mori non potest*. "He can do nothing, who cannot die." The tender, the plaintive Petrarch concludes his 18th sonnet with a literal translation of this maxim:

Ben può nulla chi non può morire.

"Who cannot die can do nothing."

the French catechisms, is, generally speaking, altogether venial.

Let us leave the Italians and English in the undisturbed possession of this sin: let us congratulate the French, upon its being unknown to their forefathers: let us excite them to fortify themselves against gloomy vapours, or rather against that indolence, which creates, nourishes, and inflames them; and which, after having destroyed the natural gaiety of the nation, has nothing but this sin to leave in its stead.

This distemper is the scourge of those ages and countries, in which the idle citizens, reclined upon the bosom of abundance and prosperity, have nothing to think of but cultivating their minds. In the plains of Damascus, that is to say, in the most delightful country in the world, this disorder, at the time of the Omriiad Caliphs, ruined and laid waste Arabia, where it was unknown, while the inhabitants were entirely taken up with their conquests. The renowned Caliph Al-Mamoun, and almost all the princes of his dynasty, were brought to the grave in early youth by hypochondriac disorders *.

The church of England has, in its liturgy, a particular form of prayer, which is read by clergymen over those who labour under an excess of melancholy †. In it they pray to God, “ To give the disordered person, according to his promises, the spirit of patience, consolation, and confidence; to support him against the temptations by which he is attacked; to dispel the troubles of his soul; not to trample upon a broken reed, nor to put out the wick which is still smoaking; finally, to restore to him for whom they pray, that peace of mind, serenity, and joy, which have forsaken him.”

* Herbelot's *Biblioth. Orient.*

† Visitat. of the Sick. T.

The ecclesiastical and civil laws of England, ancient as well as modern, are more rigorous, with regard to suicide, than those of other countries. As they had the bent of the people to this vice to combat, they have heightened the punishments elsewhere ordained, to put a stop to its course. According to these laws, the corpse of a man, who has laid violent hands upon himself, is to be buried in the highway, with a stake driven through it.

But nature is too powerful for laws: those against suicide have not been able to stop the progress of it in England: from whence it has been inferred, that it should not be so much considered as an affair of taste and choice, as a disorder, which deserves pity rather than punishment*.

The care which has been taken to stop all the passages, that lead to the Thames †, is doubtless to be dated from the time that these laws were executed with rigour. Those who drowned themselves deprived the law of its rights with regard to the corpse, which it could not, in that case, make an example of: but what precautions can prevent those, who are resolved to die, from carrying their purpose into execution?

That it is impossible to prevent this mischief, I am convinced, by the shocking sight of twenty skulls, which were found in the bed of the Thames, where they were digging the foundation for the first piles of the new bridge. The architect, as they were

* Suicide was no doubt equally criminal in the eye of the Athenian laws. They ordained simply, that the hand, with which a person killed himself, should be severed from his body, and buried by itself. *Aeschines's oration against Ctesiphon, towards the end.*

† See p. 27.

found, ranged them in order in a yard at the head of the bridge. He shewed me one of a blacker hue than the rest, which was found by the labourers when they had dug ten foot under ground.

To form a judgement of the whole channel of the Thames from this specimen, it should be strewed with such spoils of humanity, that is to say, with monuments of the eternal disposition of the English to suicide, even, if we place amongst these monuments, those of the several engagements that have been fought in the metropolis.

Those who, in the present age, are for making away with themselves, are no longer in any perplexity about the choice of a place for committing this execrable act. On the first of May, 1765, the wife of a colonel drowned herself in the canal in St. James's park; a baker hanged himself in Drury-lane; a girl, who lived near Bedlam, made an attempt to dispatch herself in the same manner; and these deaths were all inserted in the public papers. The colonel's wife had discovered an amour of her husband's; the young girl had had a difference with her gallant; the baker's reasons were never known.

A close application to the sciences and to polite learning, does not cure the English of this unhappy turn. The annals of literature abound with examples of this sort. I shall mention only that of Mr. Creech, author of the best commentary upon Lucretius extant. After having long exerted himself in vain efforts to prevail upon a handsome young lady to make a return to his passion, he beheld the new century that was approaching, as a period of grief and vexation: this he prevented, by hanging himself about the close of the year 1700.

Suicide has even found its partisans and apologists amongst the learned of that nation. Dr. Donne, one of the best preachers in London in the reign of king James the First, author of several moral and even devout tracts, drew up, in English, with the title of *Biathanatos*, a treatise, in which he endeavoured to prove, that self-murder is not so far sinful, but it may sometimes be allowable. This treatise, which makes a small volume in quarto, was published in 1647, after the death of the author, and has been reprinted. About the same time M. de St. Cyran maintained a similar thesis.

I cannot say whether that performance of Dr. Donne has given occasion to a great number of voluntary deaths in England*: they are sufficiently excited by the impetuosity, which the passions in general, and that of love in particular, derive from melancholy. These passions are the more violent, as they are more concentered, and shew themselves least externally. Hence those ill-suited matches, which are so common in England, among all ranks. At one and twenty, they are compleatly of age. Persons of both sexes, who happen at that age to be at their own disposal by the death of their parents, generally speaking, consult only their inclinations in the choice of a consort. Now a youthful heart, exposed as a prey to all sorts of seduction, is little able to discover or resist them.

The history of England presents us with a variety of examples of ill-suited matches, even among persons of the most exalted stations, contracted at an age of maturity, and when there was no danger of seduction: examples, which seem to justify that of the celebrated Mary, queen of Scots.

* *Quasi jam non satis suâ sponte furiant instigat.* Terent. Adelph.
"He excites and urges them, as if they were not eager enough themselves."

Ogina, daughter to Edward the Elder, king of England, widow to Charles the Fourth of France, and mother to his successor, took for her second husband Herbert, count of Troyes, whom she followed to St. Quintin, to be joined with him in the bonds of wedlock. Mary of England, widow to our good king Lewis the Twelfth, three months after that prince's death, married Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk. Another sister of Henry the Eighth chose a Scotch peer for her second husband: these princesses followed the example of the king their brother, who could not compel them to a delicacy to which he was himself a stranger.

Young persons, whose parents are still living, cannot marry without their consent; but they find means to gratify their inclinations by clandestine marriages, and defy the laws which condemn them.

These laws occasioned a warm debate in parliament, during my residence in London: they are much the same as in France: it was deliberated, to abrogate them as being obstacles to population, which should be the first aim of wise and just legislators. The bill, which had already passed in the house of commons, met with great opposition among the lords, and the affair remained undetermined; but the parties have a resource open to them, in the indulgence of the lord chancellor, before whose tribunal these affairs are brought, and generally treated with great lenity.

Lucan looks upon valour, suicide, and the contempt of death, which are generally to be found in the inhabitants of northern countries, as things dependent entirely upon climate.

*Populi quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorūm
Maximus haud urit, lethi metus.*

FAN.

FANATICISM AND SUPERSTITION.

BY one of those contrarieties, which would be thought impossible, if daily experience did not demonstrate their existence, fanaticism and superstition are near akin to each other: they resemble a quarter-staff, which the authors of all great revolutions have, in every age, known how to make a proper use of. When once the imagination of the people is worked upon, it runs equally into both these excesses, and the progress they make in them, is proportioned to their temper and constitution.

Chez les Anglois sombres & durs esprits

Toute folie est noire, atrabilaire:

*Chez les Francois ell est vive & legere *.*

“ Among the gloomy, stubborn English, follies wear a melancholy, black, and dismal hue: in Frenchmen they are light and airy.”

In those unhappy times, when almost all England was in arms against its king, against episcopacy, &c. in those times of mutiny and rebellion, the English acknowledged no rule or law of conduct, but what was called *The pure word of God*; the kingdom was filled with astrologers, magicians, and sorcerers.

The long parliament had one Lilly, attached to its interest, who every year published an almanac, in which he foretold conquests and victories over the royal party. Fairfax himself vouchsafed to consult this impostor, whose art he publicly declared to be actually conformable to *the word of God*.

The same parliament looked upon all their adversaries in the light of sorcerers. They therefore appointed commissioners, to go up and down the pro-

* Voltaire.

vinces, and purge them of this wicked race. The proceedings of these commissioners, and the proofs which they made use of, united all the most ludicrous and most cruel practices of the monkish inquisitors, for the discovery and extirpation of witchcraft.

One of the most zealous of these commissioners, named Hopkins, had the same misfortune as the Dominican friar, whom his brethren inserted in the legend, by the name of St. Peter the martyr. In a certain county, where he could make no resistance, he was seized, and plunged in water, with his hands and feet bound, by way of trial: he swam upon the surface, and, having thus convicted himself of sorcery, by the very touchstone of that crime, he was condemned to be hanged: they went on with the jest, and he was executed accordingly.

A committee of this parliament of Cromwell's held its assemblies at Woodstock. One of these meetings was disturbed by an apparition of the devil: this was rumoured about, and gave rise to an infinity of speculations and dissertations *pro & con.*

Whithers, a writer for the parliament, has, in a long wretched poem, taken notice of an event of the same nature. The story is, that a soldier of the royal party, drinking to the devil's health, was, in a moment, snatched through a pane of glass, by the fiend whom he invoked.

Many persons had then the devil at their command. Meric Casaubon, canon of Canterbury, has not thought it below him, to give the history of the commerce carried on between this father of lies, and one Dr. Dee, a character somewhat resembling count Gabalis.

The facetious Butler has not neglected these facts, with which he has enlivened the sixth canto of his poem of Hudibras.

I have forgot the name of an archbishop of York, who died in the year 1630. Being by his station constrained to hold conferences with a person who pretended to have a familiar spirit, after vainly attempting to undeceive that enthusiast, he took pen in hand, and, upon the subject of the familiar, wrote a dialogue in the manner of the *Devil upon Two Sticks*, in which he represented the Puritans and Catholics as falling together by the ears. I have been assured, that this is a master-piece of humour. The archbishop who wrote it, composed an epitaph for himself, which is still extant upon his tomb in the cathedral of York, with the following titles: *Indignus Decanus, Indignior Episcopus, Indignissimus Archiepiscopus**.

The melancholy temper of the English has rendered them, in all ages, exceeding fond of every thing which appears to be out of the common order. Hence that veneration, so long and universally established for the sorcerer Merlin, &c. &c. The writings of all the antient poets of Great-Britain, of all the historians, of William of Newbury, and Matthew Paris himself, are a continued register of miracles, apparitions, and ghosts.

In those barbarous ages, the monks, who alone kept the records of the revolutions and the several events of Europe, were devoted, as well by interest as taste, to that phrenzy of which enlightened ages have purged history: but that taste in a particular manner infected the English. This evidently appears from the charge of witchcraft, brought by the whole

* Archbishop Harsnet is the person here meant. He had a controversy with John Darrell, who pretended to cast out devils. This archbishop lies buried at Chigwell in Essex. The inscription runs thus: *Indignus episcopus Cicestrensis, dein indignior Norwicensis. demum indignissimus archiepiscopus Eboracensis. T.*

body of the clergy, against Robert Gro^thead, bishop of Lincoln. That bishop was greatly superior to his contemporaries in knowledge and abilities * : this was his real crime. In those days, of ignorance, France had likewise some prelates, who might have done honour to more enlightened ages. Envy and jealousy played their usual game ; but they did not turn against any of those prelates the arms, with which witchcraft and malice supplied them : the Gallican clergy employed them only against the people. The use made of them by the English clergy, against one of their principal members, demonstrates either that the spirit of party was more violent in that kingdom than in France, or that the English believed more generally and more firmly in witchcraft than the French.

The freedom of thinking and reasoning, afterwards introduced in England, has not cured even persons of the best understanding of so absurd a credulity. It discovers itself at every turn, in the memoirs of one of the most rational, wise, and sensible English writers : I mean, Sir Andrew Melvil, who wrote his memoirs in the reign of James the First, whose revenues he had long superintended ; he has filled those papers with stories of witches and sorcerers, which he offers as authentic facts to a nation, no doubt, disposed to believe them.

I have already spoken of the great practical fear which the English have of ghosts, while they make a jest of them in theory. To the example of my landlord's son, which I have already mentioned, I shall join two more of a much higher rank : the celebrated Hobbes furnishes me with one. He denied that there was in the universe any spirit, or substance distinct from matter : yet to such a degree was he afraid of spirits, that he could not bear to be by

* See his panegyric in Matthew Paris, under the year 1253.
himself

himself in a room with the door shut. Isaac Vossius, who became an Englishman by a residence of twenty years in that kingdom, joined to the superciliousness and presumption of a freethinker, the credulity of an old woman. Full of doubts concerning revelation, he believed implicitly all the stories told by travellers, with regard to China and other foreign countries: "This learned doctor, said Charles II. speaking of Vossius, is a very surprizing man; he believes every thing but the Bible."

Thus the change in the way of thinking of the English, with regard to an infinite number of objects, seems to have paid a respect to the most ridiculous prejudices, as being deeply rooted in the national character of that people. The blind enthusiasm of the three kingdoms for miracles, for the prophecies of the sorcerer Merlin, and for all the pious and political revelations occasioned by imposture and interest, have been survived by a servile attachment to a thousand little superstitions, which Steele and Addison have to no purpose combated in the seventh paper of the Spectator.

In the very centre of London itself, superstition has a monument, which it never loses sight of, and which interests people of all ranks and orders in the state. I mean, three poles, upon the tops of which were fixed the heads of three of the ringleaders, who, in 1746, sided with the pretender. These three poles, which are fifteen or twenty feet high, are placed at equal distances from each other upon Temple-bar; a gate built in the taste of that of the old *Porte de la Conference* at Paris, and which separates the city from the Strand. Several of the English appeared to me to have a persuasion, that the fall of each of the three heads will be the forerunner of some revolution in the state. This prejudice

prejudice has gained ground by the fall of the head in the middle, which, at the time of the late king's death, was loosened, and dropped from the pole.

MAD MEN AND LUNATICS.

THESE melancholy dispositions, the good and ill consequences of which upon English imaginations I have before related, produce a fatal effect upon those in whose constitutions an exalted degree of melancholy is blended: this is the sort of melancholy, which the Mahometans think has something divine and supernatural, and which they respect in those in whom it prevails: the great bent of the English to suicide is a branch of this disorder.

Persons troubled with this disease have several asylums in London; the most considerable of which is Bedlam, one of the largest and finest buildings with which that capital is adorned. Before it stands an extensive square, which goes by the name of Moorfields. The use this edifice is intended for appears from two figures of the largest size, before the principal gate: one of these represents a person pining away with melancholy, and the other a man in a transport of the highest phrenzy. These two figures, which may be justly compared to the noblest productions of Michael Angelo and his school, are the works of Cibber, an English sculptor, father to Cibber the player, who so long filled the place of poet laureat.

The city of London endowed this house, the funds of which have been increased, and do still increase every day, by the generous donations of persons, who, *mali non ignari, miseris succurrere discunt*. These funds procure the patients the care, the tenderness, and all the attendance, which their helpless condition

tion requires. In a word, madmen and lunatics have in England the same right to the charity of their countrymen, as the blind have to that of the inhabitants of Florence, a city whose air is dangerous to the sight.

In one of the visits which I paid Bedlam hospital, I happened to enter a hall filled with women of different ages, who were dressed very neat and clean, and drinking tea together. The president of the assembly, who was the daughter of a French refugee, spoke French: she immediately took me by the hand, and presented me to the society, forced me to drink a dish of tea, and, with great humour, gave me the history of the madness of her companions: it was occasioned either by love or religious enthusiasm. I took the liberty to enquire into the cause of her own madness: she thereupon told me a long story, by which I could discover nothing but a great affection for France, and a lively regret that it was not in her power to live and die there. Before I entered this hall, I enquired whether I could be there in safety; and was assured, that I could. This was the gayest and most noisy of all the coteries I had seen in London.

From the bottom of the gallery joining to the room where these women were seated, there issued piercing and continued cries. These were uttered by a handsome young woman, whose head was turned by one of the leaders of the new religious sect, called Methodists. This unhappy creature put me in mind of a mad woman, whom, in the only visit that I ever made to the Petites Maisons at Paris, I saw brought thither, fast bound. She had lost her senses by an accident which she met with in child-bed, when seventeen years old. After all sorts of remedies had been applied without effect, her father, her

mother, and her husband, in tears, and uttering louder cries than she herself, consigned her to the cell, in which she was then shut up. I never in my days beheld a more wretched and deplorable sight.

One entire ward of Bedlam contains a row of large cells, in each of which was a poor unfortunate wretch, chained down in bed. Whilst I was going round, one of the madmen, having disengaged himself from his chains, leaped stark naked upon the back of the person that accompanied me, who was keeper of the ward. The keeper seized him by the arms, and carried him back to his cell, without giving him time to change his attitude.

One of these madmen, who were thus chained down, called out to me in French. When I went up to him, he asked me news of Paris and Lewis XV. talked to me of the respect, which the English owe to their king; of that which the king owes to the law, which forbids him to condemn any one without first having granted him a legal hearing; and entered into a long conversation of the same nature with me, which did not in the least surprize me, considering the condition he was in. If I had sooner known what I afterwards learned, I should have listened to him with greater attention. I shall here give the reader his history, as I heard it from the master of the ward; and I have forgot no circumstance of it, but the date.

The king of England resides in the queen's palace, at the farther end of the Mall in St. James's park. His majesty received a letter, which threatened him with death, if he did not deposit a sum of money in a particular place: looking upon this letter as the jest of some madman, he gave himself but little concern about it. The term prescribed

scribed by the letter being expired, a man dressed in a great coat came to the palace-door in a chair, at one o'clock at night. The chairman, by this person's orders, knocked at the porter's door, who lives in one of the offices adjoining to the palace. The porter rose thereupon, and opened the door, though half asleep. The man in the chair desired to speak to the king; and the porter telling him it was impossible, he leaped out of the chair, flew furiously at the man, threw him down, and hurried away towards the king's apartment. The porter recovered himself, came up to him, seized him by the collar, and, by his cries, alarmed the palace. The man was immediately seized, together with the chairmen, who waited at the gate. The latter, being examined with regard to what had passed, appeared to be innocent, and were dismissed. The person whom they had carried, said and did a thousand extravagant things, which plainly shewed him to be a madman. The king was willing to consider him in that light, and gave orders that he should be confined in Bedlam.

This man was said to be the son of a very rich citizen of London. After he had, in a short time, squandered what money had been left him by his mother, and been disinherited by his father, he had recourse to the abovementioned expedient, to repair his ruined fortune. It is this sort of gentry, that fill the roads with highwaymen. There are numbers of them in England, because, as I have already observed, the English scarce ever observe a medium between the most profuse prodigality, and the most scrupulous and exact œconomy. The contrast between these two dispositions is sufficiently illustrated by the example which I have just cited, and by that of the old man who took the loss of a lighted

match so much to heart: both the one and the other are determined by the force of the national character, which hurries on the English irresistibly,

Quò jussit splendida Bilis.

Such are the advantages and disadvantages, the good and the evil, which result from the English character in its present state; and in this state, I doubt very much, whether the French, who affect a strong passion for every thing English, would consent to change condition and manners with that people.

REMEDY OF THESE EVILS.

IF any one should desire this change, it is the king of England, who no longer finds among his people that submission and dutiful docility which they paid to the Edwards and the Henry's. But in the days of those princes the vine was cultivated in England*; all the ports of the kingdom were open to French, Spanish, and Italian wines; the monasteries and the chapter-houses had their cellars†; in a word, the juice of the grape was in such general use, and the people, who are always in extremes, abused it to such a degree, that king Henry † V.

* The wine produced there might appear tolerable in those ages, in which the kings of France were reduced to make use of the wine of Surene at their own tables.

† *Vinum sacrificale de communi nostro cellario volumus recipi.* Const. Capituli Salisburgensis, apud Cangium. “ We are willing that the sacred wine should be taken out of our cellar.”

‡ *Edicit proclamatione publicâ, ut nullus Anglicus vinum non lymphatum potare præsumat.* Elmham, vit. Henr. V. ibidem. “ He ordered by public proclamation, that no Englishman should presume to drink wine, unless it was first diluted with water.” I was informed at London, that, according to certain records still to be seen amongst the archives of the Exchequer, the English, having made themselves masters of Guienne, imported from Bourdeaux alone 20,000 hogsheads of wine every year.

by an express law, forbid every Englishman to drink wine without water.

The revolutions of England were then conducted with a blind impetuosity, and not with that spirit of consistency, reflection, and combination, which, after having carried the rights and privileges of the nation as far as it could, keeps its ground, with a resolution and foresight, which nothing can alter nor relax, and which the contention of opposite parties increases, instead of diminishing.

We see in France itself the power, that a more or less extensive use of wine has upon a nation. Our ancestors regulated the affairs of state over a bottle; but, at the same time, regulated themselves so ill, that all their projects vanished with the bottle, from whence they took their rise. All that remained, after their consultations, was a few songs, which little alarmed the government: the French were neither devoted to politics, nor a prey to vapours *.

Since a change in the national manners has banished the abuse, and, in process of time, even the use

* 'Till the time of the regency inclusive, every Frenchman sung, with the sprightly Lainez :

J'aime à chanter, à rire, à boire,

Du reste ne m'en parlez pas.

Toujours la gazette ou l'histoïre,

Les rois, les heros, et leur gloire,

Viennent troubler la douceur d'un repas.

J'aime à chanter, à rire, à boire :

Du reste ne m'en parlez pas.

" I love the hours of life to pass

 In singing and the cheerful glass;

 In mirth and joy my life shall glide,

 Then speak to me of naught beside.

I hate dull politics and cares,

 All business and all state affairs.

The fame of kings and chiefs destroys

 The feast's exhilarating joys.

In mirth and play my life shall glide,

 Then speak to me of naught beside."

of wine, Rabelais funk by Angola, by Mizapouf, &c. Pantagruel defeated by all the heroes in za, ze, zi, zo, zu, experience themselves the great change of condition, which Epistemon observed in the other world, amongst the most celebrated philosophers and heroes of antiquity*; insipid raillery, pitiful conundrums, dull metaphysics, and plaintive elegies, have supplied the place of light conversation, amiable simplicity, sprightly wit, Bacchanalian songs, and joyous parodies†: in fine, funeral urns, coffins, and melancholy cypress-boughs, are become fashionable even in buildings of the most elegant taste.

If this lasts—but it is contrary to the nature of things that it should last: inconstancy will recall us again to gaiety.

The exorbitant duties laid upon foreign wine in England, and especially of French growth‡, have constrained that nation to have recourse to those domestic wines, of which I have spoken above; that is to say, to a sort of liquor, which is but little palatable to those that have a good taste, and destructive to persons, who, in the use of it, follow the impulse of an inordinate appetite. On the other hand, French wine, before it is imported to England, pays duties in France, which, whilst they lay a constraint upon its exportation, encourage the merchants of Picardy to increase the quantity by adulteration. It would be, notwithstanding, worth while to let the English have it good in its kind, and in such a quantity, as, leaving it to their discretion how to use it, might put

* Rabelais, I ii. c. 30.

† Some speculators ascribe this revolution, in part, to the luxury which, prevailing amongst people of all ranks, has rendered their minds a prey to inquietude, and the cares which are the constant concomitants of indigence.

‡ These exorbitant duties are dated from the year 1690.

them upon the same footing they were on before the establishment of the duties.

The œconomical and political interest of France conspires with the personal interest of the king of England, to open afresh the antient communication between the two kingdoms, which have sometimes contrived to accommodate matters of much greater difficulty.

France has not a moment to lose to put itself in a condition, by a reduction of the duties upon wines intended for English consumption, of resisting a dangerous rivalship, which may shortly arise from the colonies of Carolina and Georgia. We are told, that in these two provinces, vines grow spontaneously in the midst of the woods, and the planters have, for some time past, attached themselves to the cultivation of them. All circumstances concur on the part of England to encourage this cultivation: facility of transportation, certainty of sale, exemption from duties, perquisites and gratifications promised, as well by the public as by individuals. London has already received two hogsheads of this wine, which proved exceeding good; and people flattered themselves, that, in a few years, English America would furnish a moiety, at least, of wine sufficient for the consumption of its metropolis.

The use of wine being restored in England, whether by France or America; the English grown more tractable and less speculative, more gay, and less addicted to dispute and wrangling, more friends to society, and less saturnine, more submissive, and less occupied with state affairs, less profound in their speculations, and more religious; the English, I say, will then have no fault to find with the change in their manner of living, unless they should imitate that ridiculous Athenian, who, being cured by the

care

care of his friends of a hypochondriac disorder, exclaimed,

Pol me occiditis, amici,

Dum demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.

I observed, that the political interest of the king of England and the œconomical interest of France concur to restore the use of wine to Great-Britain. It would indeed be somewhat extraordinary, and I am not now able to clear up the point, if the heat of spirits in the people of England, and the violence of revolutions, had a gradual progression proportioned to the increase of the duties upon wine.

I shall conclude with observing, that all I have been saying upon this subject is only a homily or commentary upon a maxim consecrated by the authority of holy writ *.

W O M E N.

WOULD the fair sex be gainers, if this maxim were to be observed in England? That sex is, in its present state, just such as one could wish it to be, in order to form the felicity of wedlock. The share which the women have in the seriousness and melancholy of the nation, by rendering them sedentary, attaches them to their husbands, to their children, and the care of their houses. They, for the most part, nurse their own children themselves; and this custom, which gains ground every day, is a new tie of affection to the mothers.

This melancholy disposition makes most young women in England, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, have an inclination to the convent. Those in

* *Date vinum iis qui amaro sunt animo, et bibant.* Proverbs, i. 31.
“ Give wine to those that be of heavy hearts, let them drink.”

whom this inclination is strongest, cross the seas, and repair to the nunneries in Flanders and France, into which they are received as boarders, upon the funds assigned in these states, for the support and encouragement of new converts to the Roman Catholic religion. Saint Omers is the chief town in Flanders for establishments of this nature. English gentlemen, who pass through this city in their travels, or who are excited to go over to see any of their relations among the nuns, are very kindly received by those ladies. They are readily admitted into the cloisters, where they have an opportunity of conversing with their countrywomen and relations, who avail themselves of these conversations to attempt their conversion. In England itself there are some convents, which are made to pass upon the public for boarding-schools: in these places, nuns are admitted to make their vows. Those who have gone through this ceremony, being dressed simply and modestly, live in society, perform all the exercises enjoined them by the rules of their order, and sometimes go abroad, and visit their families. I happened one day to dine in the country, with one of these ladies: in the evening I waited upon her home, with part of the company, to her convent, to which father de la Valette had been confessor during his residence in England.

I have cited some facts above, which prove that the English women are by no means indifferent about public affairs. Their interesting themselves in these, gives a new pleasure to social life: the husband always finds at home somebody to whom he can open himself, and converse as long and as earnestly as he thinks proper, upon those subjects which he has most at heart.

All appearances of intimacy between the two sexes is dropped in public, at those meals where persons

sions belonging to different families meet : the women retire, soon after the cloth is taken away ; the wine is then put upon the table, and the guests begin to enter upon conversation. The ladies accompany the mistress of the house to her apartment ; where they enter into a chit-chat by themselves.

At the grand assemblies, play is the only thing that unites both sexes. If they meet only to chat and converse, the women, generally speaking, place themselves near the door, and leave the upper end of the apartment, and all the conversation, to the men.

At an assembly thus composed of both sexes, a lady asked me, whether I still had many curiosities and objects of observation to visit in London ? I made answer, that there was still one of great importance left for me to know, and that she and her company could give me all the information I desired : this was, whether, in England, the husband or the wife governed the house ? My question being explained to all the ladies present, they discussed it, amused themselves with it ; and the answer which they agreed should be returned to me was, that husbands alone could resolve me. I then proposed it to the husbands, who with one voice declared, that they durst not decide.

The perplexity discovered by those gentlemen gave me the solution I desired. In fact, the English ladies and wives, with the most mild and gentle tone, and with an air of indifference, coldness, and languor, exercise a power equally despotic over both husbands and lovers : a power so much the more permanent, as it is established and supported by a complaisance and submissiveness from which they rarely depart *.

* *Hæc sunt illarum veneficia.* "These are their love potions." There are, notwithstanding, in England noisy and scolding wives. Mr. Tonkeley, in the notes upon his translation of Hudibras,

This complaisance, this submission, and this mildness, are happy virtues of constitution, which nature has given them, to serve as a sort of mask to all that is most haughty, proud, and impetuous, in the English character.

To the gifts of nature, add the charms of beauty*; which is very common in England. With regard to graces, the English women have those which accompany beauty, and not those artificial graces that cannot supply its place; those transient graces, which are not the same to-day as yesterday; those graces, which are not so much in the objects themselves, as in the eye of the spectator, who has often found it difficult to discover them.

So sensible are the English ladies of their beauty, that they neglect their dress, and are little solicitous about adorning their persons. A lady, when at home, generally wears a dishabille suited to the œconomy of her house. If she happens to make her appearance in a

gives us to understand, that, to correct these scolds, they are suspended in a chair over a place full of water, and obliged to undergo the discipline of ducking. This chair, adds he, is called in English a *ducking-stool*. This bears a strong resemblance, and perhaps is just the same with the popular story current in France, concerning the man, who, having plunged his wife in a well, for calling him a lousy fellow, kept her there half a foot under water. The story adds, that, even in this condition, joining her thumbs together, she continued to signify by a sign, the abuse which she could no longer express by words.

I have since found, in the ancient regulations of the police of Rouen, an express law for the ducking of scolds: *Si fæmina convincatur esse litigiosa et maledica, alligabitur fune subtus ascellas, et ter in aquam projicietur.* "If a woman be convicted of being quarrelsome and foul-mouthed, let a rope be tied under her arms, and then let her be three times ducked in water." *Charta comm. Rothon.* *Recueil des ordonnances par M. de Lauriere, tom. i. page 308.* Thus the ducking-stool may be considered as an expedient devised by English gallantry, to mitigate the rigour of the Norman law.

* Their fine bloom and complexion are owing, no doubt, to what has been mentioned, to the principles of vegetation and animal nutrition, peculiar to England.

morning in St. James's park, it is in a short gown, a long white apron and a hat, and she is attended by a waiting-maid dressed as elegantly as herself.

At public assemblies diamonds and lace adorn the sex, and then they make a distinguished figure. The care of dressing, that of dressing the hair above all, is observable only in a small number of ladies, who, thinking, no doubt, that they have occasion for it, have resolution enough to go through all the operations of the hair-dresser *.

The country life led by these ladies during great part of the year, and the freedom which accompanies that way of life, make them continue an agreeable negligence in dress, which never gives disgust.

At the trial of lord Byron, I saw only a few ladies dressed in the French taste. All the rest, decked in the finest manner with brocades, diamonds, and lace, had no other head-dress, but a ribband tied to their hair, over which they wore a flat hat, adorned with a variety of ornaments.

It requires much observation to be able to give a full account of the great effect produced by this hat: it affords the ladies who wear it that arch and roguish air, which the winged hat gives to Mercury; it animates their faces with a degree of vivacity, which is not natural to them. In the midst of these hats, which filled Westminster-hall, the heads of those ladies, who were dressed according to the French fashion, resembled unfurnished houses. No rouge was laid upon their faces: the rouge, which the French-women have, doubtless, borrowed from the antient Picts, has not yet crossed the seas †.

* Were the author in London at this time, 1772, the number of these ladies would not appear to him to be small. T.

† It were to be wished, that the practice of our women of fashion would verify this remark. T.

A good

A good shape is the most striking article of English beauty, from which it is almost inseparable: it is owing to the free and easy manner, with which the bodies of children of the present generation have been formed, and the little use made of swaddling-cloaths, or constraint of any sort. Instead of that armour of whalebone, still made use of in France, to put a force upon nature*, and which often quite spoils it, they use in England only a sort of whalebone waist-coat, which just reaches to the breast, and has no other effect but that of keeping the body in a slight compression. Two ribbands, from the fore to the hind-part, keep it on, without bridling or putting any constraint upon the shoulders. When in dishabille, these ribbands generally falling upon the arms, the upper part of the body, disengaged from all vesture and ligature, receives and is benefited by the overplus of nourishment, which the compression of the lower part distributes to it†, whence results the ease and beauty of the shape.

These stays are precisely the *ceſtus*, which makes a part of the dress of the Grecian goddesſes and virgins in antient monuments: this was the so much

* If we consider how Bodin speaks of it, in his Method of History, chap. 5. we may presume, that the use of these bodice, introduced at court by Catharine of Medici, and the women of Florence who came over with her, was established at Paris about the middle of the sixteenth century: *Verendum est ne iſ habitus faeminarum, quo nunc utuntur ad corporis formam venustiorem, efficiat ut partus angustiori thorace nascantur, et, mutata formâ, pulmoni evadant.* “ It is much to be feared, lest the dress, which women now use upon account of their shape, should make their children be born with a narrow chest, and this alteration in the natural figure should render them asthmatic and consumptive.”

† *Haud similes sunt virginum nostrarum, quas matres student Demissis humeris esse, vincito pectore, graciles ut sient.*

“ They are by no means like our girls, whom their mothers, by binding down their breasts and arms, endeavour to make slender.”

Terent. Eun.

celebrated girdle of Venus*. The needle-work with which this cestus was, generally speaking, enriched, presented to the view all that art could add to the most perfect and most seducing production of nature†.

The neck of an English lady, being neither squeezed nor compressed in its growth and increase, enjoys all the advantages of liberty; but by degrees she abuses it: and this abuse is carried so much the farther, as it is, for the most part, formed upon the model of those of Picardy: in both places, they equally answer the purpose intended by nature, and conspire with her views.

The English ladies did not adopt that dress, which Catharine of Medici had introduced into France, in the form of a fishing-net. It compleatly enwraped the whole body up to the chin: the neck itself was surrounded with a ruff. This dress soon became quite fashionable with the women of Paris. This we learn from a fact related by father Niceron, in the life of Thomas Dempster. “ That writer, says father Niceron, having married about the year 1610, a woman of extraordinary beauty, came with her to Paris. One day, as he was walking with her through the streets, they were surrounded by a crowd, which was drawn together by the dazzling beauty of the lady, who, according to the custom of her country, displayed to the eye one of the finest bosoms in the universe, and shoulders which in whiteness vied with the driven snow. The crowd soon became so considerable, that the married couple were in danger of being stifled, and would infallibly have been so,

* Κεστόν ιμάρτα ποικίλον, “ the cestus, a variegated belt.”

† “Ο ἔχαλεψις νύων πόνα πεὶς φρονέοντων, “ which steals the hearts, even of the wife.” Homer, Il. xiv.

if they had not quickly fled for refuge to the highest houses.

Even during the life-time of Catharine of Medici, the ladies of Florence had entirely laid aside a dress, which was of little advantage to them: their new apparel was our present court habit. Queen Margaret had adopted it with eagerness, and Mary of Medici found the mode quite established.

In England, the children of the other sex enjoy from the cradle the same liberty: the people there do not distrust nature with regard to their offspring; she compleatly answers the confidence they place in her care and affiance. They are for the most part well-shaped, and there are very few deformed or hump-backed children to be seen in London. Struck with this extraordinary circumstance, I examined the thing still more closely, and endeavoured to trace it out; but to no purpose. When I happened to be walking in some remote quarter of the town, one or other of my acquaintance, surprized to see me there, asked me what I was in quest of? A hump-backed man, answered I; but I cannot find one.

Alas! replied a Roman Catholic one day, in answer to this pleasantry of mine, how many hump-backed people, deformed creatures, and cripples, are there in the sight of God! And continuing to walk with me, he talked in the most melancholy strain of the multitude of sects, which overspread England, since the time that God, to punish the instability of its inhabitants in matters of religion, has given them up to the intemperance of their curiosity, the rashness of their disputes, and all the violence of their natural temper.

I had already seen some of these sects at the respective meetings, where government tolerates their

different sorts of worship. I shall here give an account of what most struck me in each of them.

T O L E R A T I O N.

AS I was born, and had lived the greatest part of my life in a country, where disputes scarcely intelligible, concerning the metaphysical distinctions of the most sublime theology, have given rise to irreconcileable enmities between churchmen, lawyers, and even merchants * ; at each step I walked in London, I, with the utmost astonishment, saw constant proofs of the mutual toleration, which there prevails amongst all sects.

They seem to have taken for the rule of their conduct the verses, in which the learned Barlaeus represents all, who believe the same God, as brethren †.

Some people consider the opposite conduct to this, as a remnant of Judaism; of which religion it was the chief characteristic, in the eye of the Romans ‡.

The Jews had caught this spirit in Egypt, which the Egyptians retained still in the reign of Nero, and

* *Hi motus animorum atque hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui ja&tu compressa quiescunt.*

“ These violent emotions of passion and these terrible contentions are at rest, and lie still, upon the throwing of a little dust.”

† *Cunctorum est coluisse Deum; non unius ævi,
Non populi unius credimus esse Deum.*

*Si sapimus diverja, Deo vivamus amici,
Puraque mens pretio constet ubique suo.*

“ All men should worship God; we do not believe God to belong in particular to one age or people. Though we are of different persuasions, let us all live friends to God, and let the pure mind have every where its due worth.”

‡ *Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
Quæsum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.*

“ Would not shew a man his way were he of a different persuasion, or direct to a well any but the circumcised.”

which

which occasioned scenes as interesting to the actors, as diverting to the spectators *.

The persecuting spirit reached even to Siberia. M.de Gmelin, travelling through that country in 1753, found it established amongst part of the inhabitants of Niewjauskoi, who assume the name of Old Believers. “ To drink brandy is, in their opinion, the greatest of all crimes: but when they have once yielded to the temptation, they despair of being saved, and drink it in public, and with every comer; yet they take particular care to drink only out of their own cup, which they never quit: the sin of ebriety, though so very horrible in their eyes, appears to them to be nothing in comparison, of what they would think themselves guilty of, were they to drink out of the same cup with one who professed the Greek religion.”

The Royal-Exchange of London is, as it were, the throne of toleration; no nation is there considered as foreign, no individual is excommunicated: none are there looked upon as heretics, but bankrupts and cheats.

The parish dues are equally levied upon all, who live within the extent of the parish, without distinction, either of religion or sect.

The church of England baptizes all that offer, marries all, buries all, somewhat dearly indeed, but without disturbing the public tranquillity by impertinent enquiries: it considers conscience, as depending immediately upon God: it makes itself all things

* See the whole 14th satyr of Juvenal.

— *Dummus utrinque*

*Inde furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos
Esse deos, quos ipse colit.*

to all men, like the good curate of Eschillais, so naturally described by D'Aubigné*.

I one day happened to pass through St. James's church, at a time when several of the lower class of people were marrying. He that was going to be tied with the nuptial knot, just as I entered, presented himself, in his turn, to the parson, and made a thousand difficulties to kneel down before him, upon a sort of mat. Having, at last, placed himself upon it, he laughed in the face of the clergyman all the time that the latter was reading prayers over him out of the liturgy. I asked the reason of his being guilty of this piece of ill-manners; and the person I enquired of answered coldly, "The man must, doubtless, be a disenter."

In learned or political societies, in clubs, and at public assemblies, religion is no way considered: the same bench, the same row of chairs, often unites five or six different sects, mixed with persons who have no particular connection with any sect; and all these live together with a harmony and cordiality, which are seldom to be met with in an assembly of divines of the same communion.

In the public streets, the Catholic shews the Quaker, the Quaker the Presbyterian, and the Presbyterian the Anabaptist, the place where those of his sect have their meetings; and this coolly, politely, and without shewing any signs of indignation, contempt, or pity.

The stage makes all these sects equally contribute to the amusement of the public. It proceeds in the road, which was opened to it by the celebrated Shakespeare. Even the clergy of the church of England themselves are not secure from this licentiousness: if an ecclesiastic is brought upon the stage, it

* Confess. de Sancy, l. ii. c. 2. Baron de Feneste, l. iv. c. 8.
is

is to make him act the part of a fool, a drunkard, a go-between, &c.

Superstition is an enemy to toleration; an enemy, which neither the Reformation, nor freedom of thinking, have been able to banish entirely from England. The old prejudice against witchcraft and sorcerers still subsists in some parts of the kingdom. In 1750 the inhabitants of the county of Hertford, with great solemnity, put an old woman to death, whom they looked upon as a witch.

What an influence must this prepossession have had upon the imagination of the English, when supported by the concurrence of two powers; by the sight of the faggots, into which numbers of pretended sorcerers were every day thrown; by the sermons and other writings of men, who, being divines by profession, appeared to be so much superior to the delusion!

In a work printed at Venice in 1576, with additions, under the title of *Malleus Maleficarum*, “The Mallet of the Witches,” a grave Doctor, James Sprenger, *ordinis prædicatorum inquisitor clarissimus*, “most illustrious inquisitor of the order of preachers,” amongst a multitude of magical facts, in support of each of which he mentions the persons whom he caused to be burned, speaks of one in particular, whom the reader will find at the bottom of the page, in the very words of the author *.

* Chap. vii. quest. 1. entitled, *De modo quo membra virilia auferre solent*, concerning the manner in which they carry off the privy members of men, the author adds as a proof: *in oppido Ravenspurg, juvenis quidam juvenculæ adhæsit, quam relinquere volens, membrum virile perdidit, ita ut nihil videre aut tangere præter planum corpus posset.* “In the city of Ravensburg, a young man clung fast to a young girl, whom, when he was desirous of quitting, he lost his privy member, so that he could neither see nor touch any thing but his smooth body.” By the advice of an old woman, he forced the mistress, whom he had quitted, to restore it to him. A Domini-

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE English place the Papists at the head of the Non-conformists: this is the sect, which they dread most of all. The Roman Catholics, notwithstanding, enjoy as much liberty in England, as the Christians had under the most tolerating heathen emperors. Besides the chapels of the Roman Catholic ambassadors, in which the whole service is performed with singing, wax-tapers, organs, &c. they have some private chapels in London, which are winked at by the government. I have already observed, that they have even houses for nuns. They have also bishops, who are known to be such by all England. The bishop of London is of the illustrious house of Talbot. I have heard the archbishop of Canterbury say, that there is likewise a Roman prelate of his diocese, who performs all the functions of archbishop, in opposition

can of the convent of Spire, *bonitate vitæ & scientiâ præclarus*, “illustrious for his virtuous life and profound knowledge,” related an event of a similar nature, which he had heard from a young man who confessed to him, and that with the more certainty, as he was convinced of the incantation, *per visum, nihil cernendo, cum juvenis, vestes detegendo, I cum demonstrasset*, “by his eyes, seeing nothing, when the young man, taking off his cloaths, shewed him the place;” and afterwards by the cure, which he obtained through his advice, and which he convinced himself of, *experienciam visus certificatus denuo*. “Being again certified by the testimony of his senses.” In another, the cure was still more wonderful than the witchcraft: *cum quidam, qui membrum perdiderat, quamdam maleficam sanitatis recuperandæ causâ, accessisset, illa ut quondam arborrem ascenderet, infirmo injunxit, et ut de nido in quo erant plurima membra suum acciperet; et cum ille magnum quoddam recipere attentasset: Non, eit malifica, illud accipias; et ut unum ex plebanis attingeret subjunxit*. “When a certain person, who had lost his privy member, sent for a witch, in order to try by her means to recover it, she ordered the patient to climb up a tree, and to take his own member out of a nest, in which there were several; and when he attempted to take a large one; Don’t take that, said the witch, bidding him, at the same time, take one of the common sort.”

to him; and that he knows him, but they very seldom meet.

The only privileges of which Roman Catholics have been deprived, are those of sitting in parliament, and possessing the first places and dignities in the state. They enjoy all the other rights of citizens, both actively and passively, as well as the consideration annexed to birth and riches. The case of the duke of Norfolk, who is the first peer of England, is a standing proof of the rigour of those laws, which exclude from parliament all such noblemen as refuse to take the oaths of allegiance to the government: that nobleman has neither vote nor seat in the supreme court of the nation; yet he is the first member of it by his title and dignity.

The first oath, the most antient of all, and that which the Roman Catholics think the hardest, is the oath of allegiance; but it is difficult for a Frenchman to discover the venom which they so much dread; as it has no power, except upon those that are blindly enslaved to all the old prejudices of the court of Rome. This oath was devised, and first introduced, after the famous plot called Gun-powder treason*, as an antidote to all the false principles, which the authors, the promoters, the divines, and all the writers of the league against Henry the Fourth, had preached, propagated, and followed, concerning the authority of sovereigns. These sanguinary principles, consecrated by the famous bull *in cæna Domini*, occasioned all the anathemas launched at Henry the Fourth and queen Elizabeth; they had been the source of

* It was in commemoration of this conspiracy, that the populace of London every year, on the fifth of November, burned the pope in ceremony; as at Paris, the inhabitants of the quarters of St. Dennis and St. Martin burned the Swiss of the Street aux Ours. Both these ceremonies were abolished about the same time.

all the rebellions formed against those two great monarchs ; they were the torch that kindled the war, which Paul the Fifth declared against the republic of Venice.

The oath of allegiance affirms, in opposition to these principles, that the pope neither has in his own right, nor by any title or means whatever, any just claim to the crown and dominions of sovereigns ; that he cannot dispose of them ; that he cannot arm subjects against their prince ; in a word, that it is false, that those kings, whom he has excommunicated, may be justly deposed or assassinated, &c.

Paul the Fifth condemned this oath, by two briefs : Cardinal Bellarmine, examining every point of it, in a tract published in another person's name, made use of no other argument against it, but the pope's authority over the temporalities of kings ; in fine, cardinal du Perron, in his famous speech to the states of Paris in 1614, availed himself of this very oath, to establish the maxims of the court of Rome upon the ruins of the Gallican church.

King James the First defended the oath, which was his own * work, against all these attacks. He published an apology against Paul the Fifth and Bellarmine ; and opposed the speech of du Perron, by a declaration of his sentiments concerning the rights of kings, and the independency of their crowns. These two works, dedicated to all the potentates of Europe, fill two hundred and forty pages in twelves ; and there appeared at London an edition of them in

* See the account of this important dispute, and the works, which it occasioned, annexed to the life of Burhill, which makes part of the Memoirs of Father Niceron, t. xxii. page 257. The Jesuits interposed : Martin Becan and Eudæmon-Johannes, doughty champions in controversy, laid open, in virulent tracts against kings and regal power, the favourite maxims of their society.

French. They contain all that was ever said in France upon that important subject by, the Dumenils, the Pithous, the de Thous, the Servins, &c.* When we trace this affair to its first principles, there remains a difference scarce sensible between the oath of supremacy of the English, and the four articles determined by the clergy of France in 1682; between the apology for the oath by king James, and the defence of the four articles by the great bishop of Meaux; between the motives of opposition to the oath, made by the popes and the catholics who are under their immediate protection, and the reasons by which the four articles have been constantly oppugned by the Jesuits, and their most faithful adherents.

An implicit attachment to the pope, as well in practice as speculation, is the first article of faith with the English Catholics: they think in this respect as their ancestors, when they submitted to pay Peter-pence. The Jesuits and their disciples encourage them in this zealous attachment to the court of Rome, by works drawn up with that intention, and printed under their inspection at Doway. The Roman Breviary, which all the bishops of France have abrogated in their dioceses, is their Bible and their Gospel: they religiously observe all the festivals marked in the rubric of this Breviary, and these make very near a third part of the year. To the fasts which it appoints, they add others of supererogation: thus it is customary with them to fast every Friday. The life they lead is not, however, so austere as that which the Reformation introduced into the English manners: if in England we seek for gaiety, gal-

* England, at the very time of its greatest subjection to the popes, had its liberties, the supporting of which depended upon the measures taken by its kings, &c. See the 69th letter of Peter de Blois, and the notes upon the edition of 1667.

Iantry, and what in France, is called the tone of good company, we should look for them chiefly amongst the Catholics: thus, in their exclusive principles, with regard to heaven, they go merrily to Paradise, whilst their heretical countrymen, according to their notions, lag on sadly to hell. They retained a sociable spirit amidst the flames of civil war: the Cromwellians, and all the new-light folks, who, having renounced the social virtues, called themselves *Roundheads*, looked upon the Catholics in the light of beaus and petit-maitres, and gave them the appellation of *Cavaliers*.

The latter are governed and directed, throughout the three kingdoms, by Catholic prelates, who are appointed by the church of Rome; and, above all, by Jesuits, who often raise disturbances in the midst of the Catholic flock. The Jansenism of France derives its source from a book published under the fictitious name of *Petrus Aurelius*, in opposition to the pretensions, which these fathers made in England, to a right of administering confirmation concurrently with the Catholic bishops.

At the same time, the Irish Catholics, who had taken arms in favour of Charles the First, suddenly fell upon the English, settled in the different provinces of Ireland*. This revolution, which began in 1640, was still supported in 1649, and became the first object of Cromwell's solicitude, who, crossing over to that kingdom at the head of an army, established his authority upon the ruins of the royal party.

* Sir John Temple makes the number of Protestants massacred in this rebellion amount to three hundred thousand. The abbé Ma-Geoghegan has endeavoured to apologize for this massacre in his History of Ireland; but he makes use of the same arguments, which were urged in France, in vindication of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The common interest, which had armed the Catholics, should have preserved union among them; but private advantages, opposite views, and the antipathy between the Jesuits and other monks, kept up factions and divisions amongst them, which facilitated the success of Cromwell's expedition.

There is still extant a monument of this division, in a manifesto of the Cordeliers, printed in Latin at Paris in 1650 *, against the Jesuits and the bishop of Fermo, the pope's nuncio in Ireland: by agreement with these fathers, the nuncio returned to Rome, after having excommunicated all the Irish Catholics that had entered into a negociation with the duke of Ormond, who treated for Charles the First.

This division, supported and fomented by the inquisition and by Albizzi, the soul of that tribunal, and agent of the Jesuits, favoured the views of Cromwell; left none to oppose him but the excommunicated, who were headed by Inchiquin; and kept in inaction the jesuitical party, commanded by Eugene O'Neal, who, at last, entered into an accommodation with Cromwell, and delivered up to him the province of Munster.

This intelligence with the usurper occasioned the reproaches, which fill the 20th and the following

* With this title: *Vindiciarum Catholicorum Hiberniae libri II. quorum I. rerum in Heb. gestarum ab anno 1640 ad ann. 1649, et refutacionem et actionum publicorum fide munitam synopsin: II. Libelli famosi in Catholicos Hiberniae proceres qui honestissimam cum regiae partis hominibus pacem inierunt, accuratam confutationem continet. Auctore Philopatre Ireneo ad Alitophilum.* "Two books of the vindication of the Irish Catholics, the first of which contains an abridgement of the history of the Irish affairs from the year 1640 to the year 1649, strictly true, and confirmed by public acts: and the second of which contains an accurate refutation of the infamous libels against the Catholic nobles of Ireland, who concluded a most honourable peace with those of the royal party. The author Philopater Ireneus to Alitophilus." The first part contains three hundred pages, and the second, two hundred and thirty-six, in Elzevir types.

chapters of the Cordeliers manifesto : a piece more valuable, with respect to history, as no writer on the subject, Father Orleans * himself not excepted, has condescended to relate the facts therein specified†.

If this manifesto had been known to the French refugee, who, in a libel published in Holland in 1691, with the title of *Memoirs of the life of James the Second*, declared, and maintained, that the condemnation, banishment, and excommunication of Charles the First, were brought about by the Jesuits, and that a Jesuit was the executioner of that prince† ; he, without doubt, would not have failed to join to the details with which he supports this anecdote, those passages in the work of the Cordeliers, which discover the intelligence established between Cromwell and the Irish under the influence of the Jesuits.

The Catholics of England at present enjoy a profound peace, both within and without. For this they are indebted to that national spirit, which has at last convinced them, that a persecuting disposition gives rise to a thousand ills ; and that men impose upon themselves, when they expect any good from it. An English Jesuit happening, soon after his arrival from Rome, to be in company with the earl of Chesterfield, manifested to that nobleman the most ardent

* He only says, in book 10, under the year 1655, that Cromwell shewed less aversion to the Catholics, than to the Episcopallians, which their authors greatly complain of ; that the Jesuits never hurt the Reformation more, nor brought over more profelytes to the Church of Rome, than under his government.

† The abbé Ma-Geoghegan, in his History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 676, and the following, cites the *Vindiciae* ; but he confines himself to some facts relative to the Catholic confederacy : he omits all the divisions which rendered it abortive, the causes of those divisions, and, above all, the absurd proceedings of the legate and the Jesuits.

‡ See the article *King*, farther on.

zeal for religion, and a determined resolution to do and suffer any thing in so good a cause: “The time is past, answered the wise lord; it is to no purpose for you to aspire to the honour of martyrdom; fire and faggot are quite out of vogue.” I have already observed, that the English are at present so little afraid of the Jesuits, who were so formidable to them in the last century, that they would be glad to see all the members of that society, who were banished from France and other countries, go over to England.

If de la Fontaine had seen England and Italy, he would, doubtless, have rectified the memoirs, which he has left us concerning the countries of Papefigue and Papimanie. Papefigue is called, says he,

*L'isle & province, où les gens autrefois
Firent la figue au portrait du S. Pere :
Punis en sont : rien chez eux ne prospere.—
L'isle fut lors donnée en appanage
A Lucifer ; c'est sa maison des champs.*

“The isle and province, the inhabitants of which formerly made mouths at his holiness’s picture: they are punished for it: nothing succeeds or prospers with them.—The island was then given to Lucifer as an estate; his country-house stands upon it.”

By means of memoirs more authentic, Molza, who was at the fountain-head of information, has made the panegyric of excommunication *. According to him, God, to shew his contempt for worldly things, gives them to the excommunicated.

It in fact appears, that England has found, in the excommunication under which it lives, and in the interdict which it has observed but too well †, the source of that opulence, splendor, and power, to

* *Capitolo in lode della Escommunica.*

† D’Orleans’s History of the Revolutions of England, book ix.
which

which it has attained by degrees; as well as that of liberty, which is its most firm support.

The majesty of the kings of England would have remained more inviolable, said the great Bossuet, if, satisfied with its own sacred prerogatives, it had not endeavoured to appropriate to itself the rights and authority of the church *. In vain did they think of still preserving the affections of their subjects by retaining episcopacy: of what consequence are bishops, who have themselves annihilated their authority †?

In the opinion of Bossuet, the church of England was the first of those sects, into which that kingdom was split: yet the retaining of the episcopal dignity distinguished it from the rest, and with this advantage, that it had, according to Bossuet himself, a *suc-cession*, and, as that succession had its *source in pope Gregory and the monk Augustin, his disciple, the first apostle of the English nation.*

M. Bossuet has thus, by anticipation, decided the grand question since broached, concerning the validity of English ordinations; but whilst he traces the source of their succession no higher than to pope Gregory, he seems to have forgot the mention made by St. Athanasius of the English bishops, who assisted at the council of Sardica; and the mission of St. Germain d'Auxerre and St. Loup de Troyes, who

* That authority gives them the rights annexed to the title of *Pontifex Maximus* amongst the Romans: a title, which was retained by the Christian emperors till the reign of Gratian. The exercise of this authority appears extraordinary, in several points, to eyes accustomed to the sacerdotal power. These see, with astonishment, James the First granting a special commission to dispense an archbishop of Canterbury, accused of murder, from the penance ordained by the church. Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 337 and 339. George the First published, as supreme head of the church, a proclamation against Socinianism, which was beginning to prevail in that church, &c.

† Funeral oration of the queen of England.

went over to England in the fifth century : it is true, these prelates had their mission, not from the pope, but from the clergy of France.

The mission of the monk Augustine in England contained the seeds of the right since claimed by the popes, of governing the whole church by missionaries or simple vicars. Gregory VII. and Boniface VIII. whilst they left the bishops the name and external honours of episcopacy, looked upon them as mere delegates, whom they might change when they thought proper : and the bishops, affected only by the present advantage, whilst they took the benefice with all the duties annexed to it, hugged the chain, which Rome prepared for them. This *arcانum imperii*, this secret of the government has discovered itself openly in the last centuries, by the authority which the popes have at length established over the churches of China, Japan, Holland, &c. governing them immediately by simple missionaries ; a government which is become the source of scandal between ecclesiastics of different orders dispersed up and down in the missions, whose misunderstanding made perhaps part of the *arcانum imperii* ; a government, which has annihilated Christianity in Japan, where it would have maintained its ground, if the church of Japan had been established upon the foundations laid by the apostles, and administered by national bishops ; but Rome could not put the same confidence in these bishops, which she placed in the Jesuits.

Again, Bossuet, in placing the conversion of England to Christianity no higher than the age of St. Gregory and his delegate, followed the path traced out by Stapleton, who published, in 1566, a large work, since translated into Latin, with the title of *Propugnaculum Fidei*, to prove the orthodoxy of the primitive faith of England, the establishment of which

which he fixes at the mission of the delegate of St. Gregory.

But this is all one as to attribute the first origin of the establishment of Christianity in France to the connections of Pepin and Charlemagne with the popes, who from thence derived an immediate influence upon the Gallican church; it had till then been independent, like the church of England. If Stapleton had thought proper to trace the matter any higher, the ecclesiastical historians of England opened a fair field for him. According to these writers, the origin of Christianity reached as far back as King Lucius, contemporary of the apostles; which, in their apprehension, insures to the British kings the title of eldest son of the church: some have even gone so far as to maintain, that St. Peter and St. Paul preached the gospel there in person; whilst the present English affirm, that St. Peter never saw Rome, and that he neither preached nor held his seat there: to such extremes are men led, both by belief and incredulity*.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE church of England, several times reformed, purified by the flames of the most cruel persecutions, sacrificed with Charles I. its intrepid defender, and restored with the regal power by Charles II, does not, either in its dogmas or its liturgy, bear an exact resemblance to any of the communions which have separated from the church of Rome: it has nothing in common with them, but its antipathy to the bishop of Rome; an antipathy as great, and perhaps as unreasonable, as the voluntary slavery, in which it long lived under the popes.

* *Periculum est credere et non credere.* “ It is dangerous, both to believe and not to believe.”

This religion has an illustrious testimony in its favour, that of Charles I. who, when prisoner at Holmby; when he foresaw the fatal sentence, which was to be pronounced against him by his enemies; when, in fine, he was ready to appear before the throne of God, said, in the last advice which he gave the prince of Wales his son: “I can affirm to you with truth, that I have carefully examined the established religion of the church of England. After much investigation and long discussions, I have at last come to a conclusion, that this was the most perfect system of religion in the world, not only in general as a form of Christianity; but in particular, as being a reformed religion, holding a medium between the pomp of a superstitious tyranny, and the meanness of a fantastic anarchy *.”

The present heads of the church of England, that is to say, the two archbishops and the twenty-four bishops who govern it, have retained only a part of the revenue formerly annexed to their fees: thus have they, at least, in that respect, lost considerably by separating from the church of Rome: this certainly could not have been foreseen by those prelates, who first endeavoured to bring about or consented to this separation; or, if they foresaw it, they sacrificed the interests of their see and of their successors, to the temptation offered by the spoils of the Catholics.

The English prelates are, however, far from the state of poverty, which the church of Africa imposed upon its bishops as a law†, and from the in-

* Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ, towards the end.

† *Episcopus non longe ab ecclesiā hospitium, vilem supellectilem et mensam ac pauperem videtur habeat, et dignitatis suae auctoritatem fide ac meritis querat.* Con. Carth. 4, & Decret. Diest. 41. Can. Episcopus & Clericus. “Let the bishop have a little house, not far from the church, humble furniture, and a frugal table, and let him endeavour to acquire dignity by virtue and good works.”

digent condition, in which the primate of Cappadocia, Basil the great, despised the menaces of the emperor's officers to seize his temporalities *.

Since the separation from Rome, English bishoprics were become the rewards of merit; that is to say, the kings of England, without having any regard to birth, conferred them on the greatest preachers, and on men most eminent for learning, or for their labours in the vineyard. This regulation in the choice of persons did not establish between the superior and inferior clergy those distinctions †, which, keeping them at a distance from each other, extinguish that emulation to which the church has, in all ages and countries, been indebted for the prelates, who edified, instructed, or defended it. An easy intercourse between the two orders banishes all affected manners and tone of superiority, as well as that haughtiness natural to men who think themselves born to exercise an unbounded sway over their slaves.

The historian of the university of Oxford observes, with regard to the famous George Abbot, archbishop of

* Εγενόμην μηδὲ εχω, πάντα τε καὶ βιβλία διλέπεια. "If I have but little substance and few books." Sozom. l. vi. c. 16. St. Basil was, in this respect, what the latter kings of Cappadocia were, of whom Horace said: *Mancipiis locuples aget aeris Cappadocum rex.* "The king of Cappadocia, rich in slaves, with little money."

† These distinctions put us in mind of the country of Papefiguiere, where the lord says to his vassal, with a great deal of stately gravity:

*Va, fais vite et travaille,
Manant, travaille, et travaille, vilain !
Travailler est le fait de la canaille.
Ne t'attends pas que je t'aide un seul brin,
Ne que par moi ton labeur se consomme.
Je t'ai ja dit que j'étois gentilhomme,
Ne pour chommer et pour ne rien savoir.*

‡ "Go, be expeditious; work, you dog; work, you rogue: toil and labour is the business of the rabble. Do not expect, that I shall give you the least assistance, nor that your work shall be forwarded by me. I have already told you, that I was a gentleman, born to keep holiday, and live in ignorance and idleness."

Canterbury,

Canterbury, that he was so harsh to the inferior clergy, as to make them all his enemies. This severity, adds the historian, had its source in the sudden promotion of Abbot, who, not having passed through the lower benefices with cure of souls, did not know how great a work it is to superintend a flock, and what indulgence is due to faults, which, in a business of such importance, must escape the best-meaning men.

Learning and merits; altogether foreign to the ecclesiastical state, have often in England procured first-rate benefices to men, who have filled them with distinction. Seth Ward made himself known only by a few treatises of astronomy, when in 1662 he was nominated to the bishoprick of Exeter: he died in 1689 bishop of Salisbury, and chancellor of the order of the garter. Dr. Samuel Clarke had published, in 1697, an English translation of Rohault's physicks; and in 1707, at the desire of Sir Isaac Newton, a Latin translation of Newton's opticks: these translations, which are in high esteem among the English, procured him the rectorship of St. James's, which he held many years.

Francis the first and Henry the second had, in France, observed the same method in the distribution of benefices, and it greatly contributed to the splendour of their reigns. Peter du Chastel owed, to his extensive knowledge of Greek and Latin literature, the bishoprics of Tulles, of Macon and of Orleans, which he held successively, and finally the dignity of Great Almoner. Primatice, who first introduced the art of painting into France, was recompensed with the Abbey of St. Martin-es-Aires de Troyes. Philibert de Lorme, to whom French architecture is indebted for its most elegant ornaments, possessed the united abbies of St. Eloi de Noyon, and St. Sere of Angers. Amyot owed the abbey of Belosanne to Daphnis and Chloe, as also to Theagenes and Chariclea, which he had

published in French : his translation of Plutarch's works procured him the abbey of St. Cornelius of Compiegne, the bishopric of Auxerre, and the dignity of Great Almoner of France. The men whom I have above mentioned, were indebted to their works for their temporal success ; and their names are, to this day, the chief ornaments in the lists of abbots and bishops, among whom they made so shining a figure.

In the distribution of great benefices, the court of England begins now to shew a regard for birth, which will soon outweigh all other considerations.

The bishops, under the denomination of spiritual lords, have preserved the right of sitting in the upper house of Parliament, where they are placed on the right side of the throne ; but scarce is their opinion asked : they always vote with the court; whether it be that the lives which some of them have led at the universities, at schools, and in libraries, have made them but little acquainted with affairs of state and political discussions, or that they are apprehensive of risking the dignity of their characters, by entering into these debates, which are often carried on with great warmth.

The bishops chosen from noble families, whose views and interests they will espouse for many reasons, will no longer have that docility, which is, perhaps, the most important point that the English government has gained by the Reformation *.

* The sagacious Henry the Seventh observed this rule, in nominating persons to the first preferments in the church : in France it was likewise observed by cardinal Richelieu : under pretext of preferring merit to birth, he provided the Gallican church with prelates as much distinguished by their learning and piety, as little formidable to the ministry by their family-connections. Such were the Vialarts, the Chotarts, the Cornulliers, the Gauls, the Arnauds, the Malliers, the Legras, the Pavillons, &c. The cardinal, doubtless, had not foreseen the affairs of the formulary and the regale, in which most of these prelates discovered an obstinacy, which the ministry would not have met with in bishops devoted to the court.

The

The troubles raised in ancient days in England by the refractoriness of the bishops, were generally owing to the blind submission of the English prelates to the court of Rome. The first step taken by Thomas a Becket when raised to the see of Canterbury, was a prelude to the measures he pursued during the remainder of his life : he wanted to hold of the pope the archbishopric, which he owed to his sovereign's friendship *.

At extraordinary meetings of parliament, such, for example, as that for the trial of lord Byron, the bishops, to make an equal figure with the lords temporal, who are then dressed out in long robes lined with ermine, appear in their doctors gowns, which are likewise robes of scarlet. The cap which they wear with this dress, is of a very odd form : it is a covering that envelopes the whole head ; and upon this is fixed a four-cornered hat, quite flat. Wickliff and Calvin are generally represented with a cap of this sort. At the ordinary meetings of parliament, the bishops wear, over the gown and cassock, their rochet or lawn sleeves, which doubling, as it were, their bulk, supply the place of the distinctions of the short cloak and pectoral cross worn by our prelates.

Every body knows that these bishops are nominated by the king, who has the supreme right of patronage to the church. Their heirs are obliged to bear,

* *Pontificatum minus sincerè et canonicè, id est, per sceptrum manumque regiam suscepimus, pungentis conscientiae stimulos non ferens, secreto in manus domini papæ resignavit, qui factum approbans, pastoralem illi sarcinam ecclesiasticā manu rursum imposuit, et turbatæ conscientiae laesam sanavit.* Guil. Neubr. l. ii. cap. 16. “ Not being able to bear the reproaches of his conscience, he resigned the episcopal dignity, which he had acquired by the king's favour and authority, into the hands of the pope, who, approving of the action, again conferred the episcopal dignity upon him, and healed his wounded conscience with a paternal hand.”

on account of reparations, all the chicanery which obtains in France, and which, generally speaking, determines the heirs of those who have great benefices, to renounce their succession: this is the harder upon the English, as the heirs to most bishops are their own children. The English prelates pay the king the same dues which the Gallican prelates pay the pope under the name of annates. The product of these dues is applied to the building of new churches, and to the support of the indigent curates. With regard to taxes, the English ecclesiastics, who enjoy no exemptions nor immunities, contribute to them as well as freeholders; and the beneficed clergy, as well as freeholders, have votes at elections for members of parliament. The English bishops are, for the most part, married, and being often chosen out of the nobility, are obliged as well by their birth as their dignity to make a figure. The archbishop of Canterbury *, continuing to lead a sort of collegiate life, has declined marrying. He every Sunday gives a dinner at Lambeth, of thirty covers, to the clergy, gentlemen from the universities, and others: a distinguished joint served up at this entertainment, is the furloin of beef.

Lambeth, which is very agreeably situated upon the Thames opposite to Westminster, is the usual residence of the archbishops of Canterbury; the affairs belonging to their jurisdiction as primates, engage more of their time than the business of the archiepiscopal see. They are the popes of England: the basis of their authority is the title of delegates of the holy see, which they obtained from Rome, and continued to enjoy till the Reformation.

* The late Dr. Secker. T.

It is somewhat extraordinary that the Reformation should have left their jurisdiction untouched; it is still the same with that which was enjoyed by the ecclesiastical courts of France, before our kings had resumed the rights which those courts had usurped.

Till the reign of the last of the Edwards, the archbishop of Canterbury was generally appointed lord chancellor; the kings of England, till then, making it a rule to chuse their chancellor constantly out of the episcopal order. Notwithstanding their sacred character, and the engagements of their station, these prelatrical chancellors were often stern, sanguinary men. Such was Morton, who, being entrusted with the seals during the whole reign of Henry the seventh, took the most violent resolutions, and was always for the most rigid measures. If the ambition of these archbishops was not satisfied, or if the court confined them to the care of their flocks, they soon shewed themselves at the heads of factions, cabals, and tumultuous seditions. Such was the character of the archbishop Thomas Arundel, whose ambitious views were disappointed by Richard the second. He became the chief instrument in bringing about the abdication, dethroning, and violent death of that unhappy prince. That prelate, by placing the duke of Lancaster upon the throne, gave occasion to all the carnage and horrors of those dreadful civil wars, which, during near seventy years, overwhelmed England with blood and slaughter. “The archbishop of Canterbury,” says father Orleans *, “appeared in other respects to be endowed with great virtues; but his subsequent conduct made it manifestly appear that the king had reason to distrust him; and that, with all these external marks of extraordinary virtues, he was at the bottom capable of the greatest of crimes.”

By the schism of the English, the archbishop of Canterbury became, in fact, what he before was only in title, *alterius orbis papa*, “the pope of another world.” In the former state he was the second person in the kingdom; he ranked next to the princes of the royal family; he had the right of coining money, and that of being the only judge of a multitude of vassals who were his immediate dependants; in fine, all his lands were exempt both from the king’s jurisdiction and that of the chancellor. The occasion which Henry the eighth had for the archbishop of Canterbury, induced him to continue all those privileges, which the popes had granted him or obtained in his favour.

He has a court or tribunal, held in a place, which goes by the name of Doctors-commons. The origin of this appellation reaches as far back as the age when the clerical privilege was erected into a common right upon the authority of false decretals. The distinction between the *common offence* and the *privileged case*, in our criminal procedure, has its source in the same abuse, which Thomas a Becket was bent upon maintaining at the hazard of his life, and which has since been attacked in France, in so lively a manner, but to so little purpose, by the celebrated Peter de Cugnieres and some other bold authors.

The clerical privilege, or benefit of clergy, is not in England confined to ecclesiastics alone; it extends even to laymen, who plead it when brought to a trial for any sort of crime, except wilful and premeditated murder. To be admitted to plead this benefit, a culprit should be able to read a page in the Bible; If the prisoner is able to stand this test, which is almost always the case, the offence being within the statute, he is burned in the hand with a red-hot iron, and

* History of the Revolutions of England, book v.

then

then consigned over to the ecclesiastical judge, that is to say, absolved from all punishment, excepting only certain canonical penances. The origin of this privilege, called by the English *benefit of clergy*, is very ancient *: it reaches up to those ages of darkness, in which ecclesiastics, being entirely exempt from secular jurisdiction, were not liable to any corporal punishment, whatever crimes they might have committed.

Henry the seventh, a prince of great wisdom, was the first that thought of resuming his authority over that part of his subjects: by an act of parliament in they ear 1489, he ordained that every ecclesiastic, convicted of a capital crime, should be burned in the hand before he was consigned over to the ecclesiastical judge. This law, which, as I have already observed, is put in execution to this day, was one of the motives which the counterfeit duke of York afterwards alledged, for his revolt against Henry the seventh: he, in his manifesto, spoke of it as an open violation of the privileges of the church †.

The benefit of clergy was intended as a sort of encouragement to laymen, to learn to read, and thereby emerge out of the profound ignorance in which they were then immersed. Though the end for which it was ordained has long since ceased, the custom is still retained, both through love for humanity, and to leave judges, who have duly considered the crime,

* In the 38th chapter of the Rule of St. Benedict, it is enjoined the monk, who reads in the refectory, to begin with a public prayer, to request that God would vouchsafe to preserve him from that vanity, to which his being able to read might expose him. This proves how rare men of learning were, in those days, even in the neighbourhood of Rome itself.

† See lord Bacon's Life of Henry the Seventh.

the means of saving the culprit from the rigour of laws whose severity admits of no mitigation.

The proof of wills is an affair that belongs to *Doctors-commons*, as does likewise the getting them put in execution afterwards, and the disputes concerning successions of moveables *ab intestat*: the origin of this right reaches to the ages in which all the bishops of Europe received, by their delegates and notaries, the wills of every body in their dioceses, which were to contain dispositions in favour of the church, upon pain of being declared null and void, besides the privation of christian burial to those who died intestate. This privilege of the English clergy, makes a part of the most sacred rights of the nation, which are contained in Magna Charta *.

At the time that this charter was granted, there were no notaries in Europe, but those appointed by the bishops. The bishop of Paris had then a hundred notaries or sworn clerks in his office †. Lewis the Gros and Philip Augustus with difficulty prevailed, by threats and all the efforts they could make, to be admitted as associates in the jurisdiction which those prelates exercised over their subjects and over their officers themselves. There is still extant a monument of the accommodation or treaty of peace concluded, with regard to these affairs, between the bishop of Paris and king Philip Augustus ‡, on the gate of Fort l'eveque at Paris, at the side towards the

* *Si quis liber homo intestatus decesserit, catalla sua (his chattels, his goods,) per manus propinquorum et parentum suorum, per vicum ecclesiae, distribuantur salvis debitis.* “ If any freeman dies intestate, let his goods and chattels be distributed by the hands of his friends and relations, in such a manner as is agreeable to the church, without injuring his creditors.”

† History of the diocese of Paris, by the abbé Le Bœuf, tom. ii. c. 2.

‡ See this treaty in *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. col. 94. It was concluded at Gisors in 1218.

street of St. Germain. The pediment of this gate, erected in the fourteenth century, supports the figures in basso relievo, of a bishop and a king kneeling at the feet of the Blessed Virgin. The bishop has his right hand upon the king ; and the arms of France, which are at their feet, consisting of a vast many flower-de-luces, are crossed by a crosier, which stands erect, by way of eminence. Noblemen of the first distinction assumed the honourable title of bailiff of a court that rivalled the king's jurisdiction, and to which it was superior in many respects : they reckon amongst the bailiffs the Bethunes, the de Marles, &c. These noblemen thought it an honour to carry the bishops to be interred. See the article *Government*.

In the following centuries the authority of the popes, grafted upon that of the bishops, filled France and England with *apostolical notaries*, who afterwards added to this title that of *imperial* †. Were they immediately nominated for by the emperor ? Or were they appointed for by the pope alone, as well in his name as in that of the emperor ? Contemporary monuments afford us no lights with regard to these facts, which are the more surprizing, as it is less probable that the kings of France and England could have so far forgot the rights of their crown, as to tolerate in their dominions and under their eyes public officers, who had received their patents from foreign powers, their rivals, and often their enemies. According to the register of the court of chancery of the empire, the patent that was made out for the imperial notary contained an oath of allegiance to the emperor : *recepto juramento fidelitatis — ad honorem et fidelitatem*

* Our money was likewise, till the reign of Francis the First, coined by persons, who took the oath of allegiance to the emperor. See the treatises upon coins, and Menagiana, tom. iv. p. 192.

nostram, “ having received his oath of allegiance—to honour and be faithful to us.” These words are to be found in a model of these patents, inserted amongst the letters of the celebrated Peter de Vignes, chancellor to Frederick II.

It should, at the same time, be observed, that the appointing these notaries with a double title, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was, perhaps, only one of the expedients, which the popes of Avignon had recourse to, for laying Europe under contribution: in the patents, they added the imperial to the pontifical authority, in consequence of the claims which they laid to the former. On one hand, this enterprize was little interesting to the emperors, whose prerogative it even appeared to extend; on the other, the kings of France and England, doubtless, saw nothing in it but an affair purely relative to the finances. It is true, the apostolical seal, in some measure, conferred jurisdiction; but the ecclesiastical courts were then the tribunals most resorted to, on account of the ignorance of the laity. From what they are at present, we may form a judgement of what they must have been in the times of ignorance and barbarism, when subjected to the yoke of secular authority.

Though, by an edict of the year 1490, Charles the VIIIth had forbid the passing of any edict by imperial, apostolical and episcopal notaries, in temporal affairs, upon pain of the said instrument’s being rejected and held null and void, the abuse continued to prevail: I myself saw an act of 1495, received by an apostolical and imperial notary, in a province not far distant from Paris. The same abuse prevailed in England till the reign of Henry VII.

The proving of testamentary dispositions, a formality unknown in France, is still performed in England

by presenting the will in the court of the primate, and swearing that it is the will of the person whose name is to it. By retaining this formality and its concomitant circumstances, England has, at least, saved the exorbitant fees which, before the Reformation, the archbishop of Canterbury, by means of his doctors, levied whenever any instrument was to be proved : fees that represented the legacies, which testators were in ancient days obliged to leave the church.

I have seen this ceremony performed ; it is done in the same manner that oaths are taken in all the courts of justice in England, by kissing a little Bible, which, for that purpose, lies constantly upon a table in the office. Quakers likewise performed this ceremony ; but they were excused from taking an oath, on account of their principles, upon condition of simply affirming, instead of swearing to the fact, and paying half a crown for that dispensation.

In Doctors-commons, cognizance is likewise taken of marriages, promises of marriage *, and even of contracts which settle the conditions of them, at least with regard to the manner of disposing of moveable effects. They, by appeal, take cognizance of the decisions of the ecclesiastical judges within the extent of the primacy of Canterbury ; and from their judgements, there lies an appeal to a committee formed for this purpose in the upper house of parliament. Their method of proceeding has retained all the ancient forms, which render it equally tedious and expensive.

They have their court, their apartment, and a library belonging to their society, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's. Their library contains all the canonists

* If a man has made a general promise to marry any particular person, he is not at liberty to marry another ; but the time is left to his own discretion : which generally renders the promise delusive, and of no effect. But if the man has fixed a certain day for his marriage, he is sure of being cast.

ancient and modern : Sanchez is at the head of those who have treated of marriage. I was the more surprized at not finding the works of the celebrated Van Espen, as the principles which he has proceeded upon, in many respects, come near to those of the English civilians. I had besides seen his works in the shops of several of the London booksellers. I mentioned them to the librarian, who requested me to write the title down in the catalogue ; and have been since informed, that Van Espen, being one of the most strenuous of the canonists in opposing the counterfeit decretals and the jurisdiction built on that foundation, it was no wonder his works should be excluded the library of a tribunal, which owes its existence to those false decretals.

The jurisdiction of the primate and the bishops of England had, as in France, the name of Christianity : a name which the English extended to whatever concerned the possessions, the rights, the privileges, the claims and pretensions of the clergy and monks, whom William of Newbury *, who was himself a monk, called *Christianos philosophantes*.†

Lambeth, the bishop of Canterbury's place of residence, has some good houses, with agreeable walks upon the bank of the Thames, a well-built church, and a private chapel : in a word, every circumstance there shews it to be the palace of a great personage‡.

* See Du Cange, at the word *Christianus*. The writings and records of the English have furnished him with examples of this name's being extended to all the objects abovementioned.

† Book iii. cap. 5. In France and England the vineyard of a curate or prior was distinguished from those of their neighbours, by the title of *the vineyard of Christianity*.

‡ Those that are but moderately versed in the history of England know, what part has been always played there by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, whose ambitious rivalship has often excited disturbances in the state. We meet with interesting accounts of these affairs in the history of William of Newbury, who describes the conduct of those prelates in the

The archbishop has a considerable library, which belongs to his see, and which his predecessors, for a century past, have been continually increasing. It contained a great number of manuscripts, which were plundered and destroyed by the adherents of Cromwell, who took all books in Gothic characters for missals and breviaries, and, considering them only as ornaments of the Roman prostitute, destroyed them through a principle of religion. Pictures* and painted glass were comprised in this proscription ; they broke them to pieces wherever they had made themselves masters. The chapel at Lincolns-Inn is the only place where I have seen such windows entire and well preserved ; but I was given to understand, that, before those of Cromwell's party had possessed themselves of London, the benchers of this Inn had taken care to remove them into a place of safety. They were afterwards restored with Charles II. 'Tis, doubtless, the same care, which has preserved the small number of manuscripts still possest by the library at Lambeth.

The most important are, a continued series of the registers, which contain all the acts of the archiepiscopal and primatical jurisdiction of the archbishops of Canterbury, ever since the year 1272. Perhaps

twelfth century in these terms. *Apostolica regula à nostri temporis episcopis ita est abrogata, ut, solicitudine pastorali postposita, quanto perniciius tanto et vanius de excellentia litigent, et omnis fere episcopalis cura circa bonorum prerogativam versetur.* l. iii. c. 1. "The apostolical rule has been in such a manner abolished by the bishops of the present age, that, having laid aside all care of their pastoral functions, they as obstinately as vainly wrangle concerning precedence, and almost all their episcopal care is exerted about their prerogatives."

* Cromwell was true to the spirit of his party, in his hatred to painting, and the polite arts. He sold the collection, which James the First and Charles the First had made of the finest pieces, of the Italian and Flemish schools, which were in their most flourishing state in the reigns of those princes. Cardinal

there

there is not a church in Europe possessed of so ancient and compleat a collection of this sort.

Amongst other manuscripts, which are but of little importance, I took notice of two missals. The first, which is dated 1415, was made for the chapel of king Henry V. with a magnificence answerable to that destination. It is filled with all the ornaments which painting is capable of exhibiting; all the margins are adorned with flourishings and grotesque figures, drawn in the nicest manner imaginable, in colours of the liveliest hue. The most extraordinary of these grotesque figures, both for the idea and the place which it occupies, presents to the view *humani corporis posteriora*, placed between a head and two legs. This odd figure is exactly at the bottom of the first page of the canon, at which the mass-book was opened, when it was carried to be kissed according to the Roman liturgy. The calendar of this missal is in French: which seems to shew it to be the work of some French artist.

The other missal was written in 1584, for one Laubépine, bishop of Limoges, whose arms adorn the frontispiece. All the holidays of the second order, are marked in rubrick characters in the most distinct manner, and without any sort of abbreviation, by the word *Prindas*; which is neither English, French nor Latin.

Amongst the most valuable of these manuscripts is kept, with particular care, an imperfect copy of M. de Meaux's *Exposition*, similar, as we are told, to that which this prelate caused to be made for M. de Tu-

Mazarin purchased for the king, and for himself, several master-pieces, the price of which was regulated by the little knowledge that Cromwell had of their merit. It was by means of this acquisition, that the celebrated picture of the labours of Hercules by Guido, has been admitted into the king's collection.

renne,

renne, before he had put the last hand to that work. The value of this copy consists in differences of the highest importance relative to several articles which have been altered, extended and abridged in the first edition of 1671. M. Allix, a dissenting minister, has written, with his own hand, opposite to each of these articles, succeeding additions, defalcations and changes. We read at the head of this book, a sort of verbal process drawn up by this minister, and sealed with his own seal, in which he attests the exact conformity of this copy with that of the marshal de Turenne, both in the printed part, and in the two last leaves which were added in writing.

These changes, which are looked upon as important, were the foundation of a work that an English divine published at London, in 1686, against the *Exposition*. M. Bossuet thought it his duty to answer this work : which he did at the end of his sixth animadversion upon M. Jurieu, published in 1692.

Upon examining the copy in the Lambeth library with the utmost attention, I could not but think, that the characters had neither that distinctness, nor the paper that firmness, for which books that came out of the Cramoisi press were remarkable ; but, according to M. Bossuet himself, these were only waste sheets, for which any sort of paper was good enough ; and it is well known, how great influence the choice of paper has upon the clearness of types.

This difficulty with regard to the form, and that which arises from it with respect to the paper, are easily removed, by comparing the copy of Lambeth with that of Marshal Turenne ; if it be true, as I was assured by the library-keeper, that the latter is still extant in the library of the hotel de Bouillon.

A great gallery of the palace of Lambeth, contains all the pictures, at full length, of the several bishops who, since the Reformation, have possessed the see of Canterbury, and of some prelates whose talents have done an honour to the English clergy *. To these are joined certain ancient portraits, amongst which one, which is the work of Holbein, deserves particular notice: it is the picture of an archbishop contemporary to the painter: though the features are shocking, there is something very expressive in the physiognomy.

Amongst the modern portraits, that of Dr. Burnet is one which best of all exhibits a countenance as noble and pleasing, as the works of that celebrated writer are the reverse. The Memoirs of John Macky contain certain anecdotes of that personage, whose character was an odd mixture of violence and complaisance, which he made alternately subservient to promoting his fortune. He was concerned in all the great changes, and had a hand in all the intrigues, which agitated England from the year 1680 till his death. Ever varying his principles according to circumstances, he was unshaken in nothing but his hatred to the house of Stuart. This hatred it was that excited king William to promote him to the episcopal dignity, and to confer on him the place of chancellor of the order of the garter, and that of præceptor to the duke of Gloucester. He was afterwards as warm a partisan of the house of Hanover, as he had been of the prince of Orange; but death did not give him time to reap the fruits of this new attachment.

* I was indebted for the sight and examination of the curiosities at Lambeth, to Dr. Ducarel, Fellow of the society of Antiquaries, author of some works replete with erudition, and *commissary* of the city and diocese of Canterbury.

In the Memoirs just cited, we meet with two consultations of this doctor, which afford the most extraordinary proofs of his talent at suiting his principles to the times and occurrences. The barrenness of the queen consort to Charles the Second, gave occasion to these consultations, which have all the authenticity that can be desired in acts of this nature. In the first he laid it down as a maxim, that *barrenness in a wife is a just cause of divorce*; and in the second he maintains, that even *under the gospel dispensation, there are certain cases which may justify polygamy*. Yet the doctrine displayed in these consultations, by a divine who had acquired a reputation for rigid virtue, had no effect upon the principles of honour, which reigned in the soul of a prince the most sensual and voluptuous of the age in which he lived*.

A chaplainship to a nobleman of the Hamilton family, was Dr. Burnet's first step to fortune. He, in secret, won the heart and received the hand of a niece of the chief person of that family, lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the earl of Cassils. His marriage being discovered in Scotland, he fled with his wife to England, and joined with the party opposite to that of the duke of York, of which the Hamiltons were the chief support in Scotland. The enmity of that house pursued him to England, where he exerted himself to the utmost to acquire a name in the anti-royal party. Being compelled to leave England, he traversed France, Italy, and Germany, from whence he went to the prince of Orange, at the Hague, whose fortunes he followed, and whom he served with all the ardour of a ringleader of a party; the prince shewed his gratitude, by procuring for the doctor, at the

* *Sanctiores erant aures principis quam corda sacerdotum.* “The ears of princes were more religious than the hearts of priests.”

death of his first wife, (who, not chusing to follow her husband in his prægeminations, stayed behind him in England) a Dutch heiress in marriage; by this lady he had seven children, five of whom survived their father. Upon the death of this second wife, he married a rich widow of the name of Berkeley.

It was not his fault that his patron and benefactor, who was looked upon by some as conqueror of England, did not seize upon all the prerogatives which flow from the right of conquest, and which had been so fatal to the nation under William the Bastard. With a view of promoting this design of the prince of Orange, Burnet published a pastoral letter, which was condemned to the flames by the House of Commons. His last work was a virulent invective against the peace of Utrecht and the Pretender, from whose resentment he would have had every thing to fear in case queen Anne had called the exiled family to the throne.

The chancel of St. James's church Clerkenwell where he was buried in 1715, is adorned with a long Latin epitaph †, which praises him as *Libertatis, patriæ, veræque religionis strenuum semperque indefessum propugnatorem, tyrannidi & superstitioni perpetuò infensum*. “The strenuous and unwearied defender of liberty, his country, and true religion, and the eternal enemy of tyranny and superstition.”

Whilst I was in London, died a son of bishop Burnet: I had been informed that he was just

† On the other side of this chancel we meet with the epitaph of one La Rochefoucauld, who, persevering in the faith, which his whole family embraced in the sixteenth century, had followed the prince of Orange to England, and signalized himself in his service; and that in a station suited to his birth. He was afterwards honoured with an English title, which I have forgotten, as well as the time of his death, which happened lately, and in a very advanced age.

come from Paris, where, in quality of Commissioner of the Court of Session at Edinburgh, he had just finished a judicial enquiry, which was to be made use of in the cause depending some years between the families of Douglas and Hamilton.

In collecting these particulars of Dr. Burnet, I have followed the same method which I have observed with regard to other celebrated writers. These anecdotes throw a light upon their works, and contribute to render them interesting to their readers when they would not have been so of themselves. To peruse them with this assistance, is as different from reading them without it, as the conversation of an acquaintance differs from that of a man we have no knowledge of.

The church of England is, at present, very far from being actuated by those narrow principles which self-interest dictated to Dr. Burnet. If we except a few bishops, who sometimes, but to very little purpose, affect qualms of conscience, the English clergy behave to the dissenters with that noble confidence, with which every rational body of men is inspired by acknowledged superiority: they would, however, be glad that all Protestant dissenters would be satisfied to say their prayers in private: they esteem some individuals amongst the Catholics, but they have very little regard for the body in general: not that they think them the authors of the fire of London, of the gunpowder plot, nor of all the other conspiracies which have been imputed to these people; they leave such opinions to the vulgar.

But how can the populace avoid believing these stories? The inscription on the Monument erected immediately after the great fire of London declares, in express terms, that this fire was the work of Popish fury. James the Second had caused that part of the

inscription to be effaced : but the prince of Orange took care to have it restored. With regard to the gunpowder treason, it has given rise to an annual solemnity, in which thanks are returned to Almighty God for the happy discovery of that plot ; and in the form of prayer made use of upon that occasion, every circumstance of it is laid to the charge of the Papists.

The English clergy are very tractable with regard to several articles in which all Christian communions are agreed : if, when the liturgy was compiled, they had thought as they now do for the most part, it seems doubtful whether the Athanasian creed would hold the place, which it has at present, in the body of that liturgy. With regard to the punishments of a future state ; whilst, with Zuinglius, they limit their duration, they have nothing left but the same purgatory which furnished the first reformers with their principal topics of declamation against the church of Rome. Who ever went to the other world to see ? was the answer made me by a grave divine, whom I questioned concerning the present state of that question.

Free-thinking, the last refuge of minds tired out with religious wars, and the revolutions to which they give rise, has, by insensible degrees, gained ground amongst the English, and even amongst the clergy themselves.

Charles the Second, either through a secret attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, or through views merely political, favoured this turn of his subjects *. James the Second, with a view of encourag-

* Constantine did the same, in his first edicts in favour of the Christian religion. These edicts offered civil liberty to men of all persuasions, and of all sects. See John Baudouin's coming

ing the Roman Catholics, did all he could for the Non-conformists, amongst the multitude of whom the Latitudinarians escaped notice. King William, upon his accession to the throne, did nothing for the sect which had raised him to it: the Shaftesburys and most of those who had the chief hand in bringing about the Revolution, which had placed upon his head a father-in-law's crown, thought very freely upon the subject of religion.

The Latitudinarians fancied they might avail themselves of this toleration, to divulge their dogmas upon religious subjects. In 1696 John Toland published his *Christianity not mysterious*; a work by which he proposed to demonstrate that the *doctrines of the Christian religion are not properly mysterious*: a work which, as soon as ever it appeared, was condemned to be publicly burned in Dublin. Toland, having fallen under the censure of the same tribunal by which his book was condemned, fled to England, where both the work and author were left unmolested.

Encouraged by this kind reception he published in 1699, the life of Milton; and in speaking of the *Eiusw̄ Baroīan̄y* ascribed to Charles the First, he insinuated his doubts concerning the truth and authenticity of the Old and New Testament. Several critics having risen up against these doubts, Toland, the same year, published an elaborate answer of a considerable extent, intitled *Amyntor*.

The inferior clergy of the convocation, which met in 1702, thought it their duty to censure these heterodox productions. They forthwith laid them before

mentary: *Ad edicta veterum principium Rom. de Christianis, Basil. 1557*; and another treatise, by the same author, entitled *Constantinus Magnus*.

the superior clergy, and excited them to join in branding them, as works of the most pernicious tendency. The bishops thought it incumbent upon them to cause the works, which had been thus reported, to be examined ; and this examination occasioned the discovery of propositions of a much more serious nature, than those which the inferior clergy had taken notice of. In a word, the bench of bishops appeared determined to make these books and their author feel the weight of ecclesiastical authority.

But what could this authority avail ? The bishops themselves were ignorant of its extent ; therefore, in compliance with the customs of England, they consulted the lawyers.

To the first question : “ Whether it was contrary to any law, for the convocation or assembly of the clergy to declare a book to be impious, heretical, and calculated to corrupt the morals of the people.” The lawyers made answer : That it was. To the second question : “ Whether the propositions extracted from the work of Toland contained sentiments contrary to any law ? ” The lawyers made answer : That they did not. They added, that in 1689, a book having been reported in the same manner, the doctors of canon and civil law had declared the assembly of the clergy to be incompetent judges upon subjects of such a nature. Being at last consulted with regard to the means of giving vent to their indignation against the works which had been reported, the lawyers declared themselves in the following terms : “ The clergy cannot proceed against the works reported, without the express permission of the king : in case they proceed against them, they incur the penalties pronounced by the statute of the 25th of Henry VIII* ; (the seizure of their temporalities.)”

* Life of Toland, prefixed to his Works, published in 1725.
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Be that as it will, the permission of the court, which had been judged indispensably necessary, either was not applied for, or not granted ; and the report had no other effect but to give new importance to the writings reported, and increase their reputation.

A long war, and the important business of the union of the three kingdoms, filled the whole reign of queen Anne, whose inclination must have led her to favour the toleration, in consequence of the design, which she was supposed by a great part of the inhabitants of England to entertain, of calling in the pretender.

George the First had reasons for approving the toleration, diametrically opposite to those which had regulated the conduct of his four predecessors. In quality of head of the church of England, he issued a proclamation, condemning the publication of Socinian writings, or such as were favourable to the new opinions concerning the Trinity.

The public was diverted with a law made by a prince of the Lutheran persuasion, in favour of a religion in which he had not been educated, to deprive others of a liberty in which he indulged himself. However, if we may be allowed to judge of this law by the number of heterodox writings which have since been published, and which the press renews every year in England, it is to be presumed that it never was put in execution : the prince, who was the author of it, should, doubtless, have first caused its propriety to be ascertained by the lawyers. This precaution, which the upper house of convocation thought necessary to enable them to pronounce upon the works reported in 1702, furnished new pretexts to the enemies of the church, who publicly accused

accused the most eminent of the clergy of Socinianism.

Though an independent spirit be the distinguishing characteristic of the Latitudinarians, the kings of England have found amongst that body subjects whose fidelity has consoled them for the envenomed rage of fanaticism. Dr. John Hales is a memorable example of this sort. That doctor, who was a most rigid Calvinist, having assisted at all the meetings of the famous synod of Dort, returned from it an Arminian; and having imbibed the principles of the Socinians, he joined the party afterwards called Latitudinarians*.

He, notwithstanding, continued inviolably attached to Charles the First, and that attachment made him sacrifice places, which it is sufficient just to mention, in order to shew the ardour of his zeal for his sovereign.

He resigned his canonry of Windsor, and fellowship of Eton college. His successor in that place having afterwards offered to restore it to him, he declined the offer, for fear it should be concluded that he had quitted the royal party.

He had nothing left but a library of well-chosen books: this he sold, divided the money between some of the Royalists, who were greatly persecuted and oppressed by the Parliamentarians, and retired to the country, to the widow of one of his servants, who lived by her daily labour: at this asylum he died in 1656, in the seventy-second year of his age †.

One of his quondam pupils embellished his tomb with an epitaph, wherein, after enumerating the

* The same variation of religious tenets appears in the numerous works of Dr. Whitby.

† The celebrated Dr. Pococke, with the same resolution, bore the like persecutions in the same cause.

facts above related, he declares that his master was, *mundo sublimior, ideoque aptior angelorum consortio* *, “too sublime a genius for this world, and therefore the fitter for the society of angels.”

The tolerating spirit of the church of England, with regard to heterodox opinions, does not suppose any great degree of ardour for the propagation of the faith amongst the Pagan neighbours of the English colonies. The missionaries destined for that end, are under the direction of a society lately formed, which supplies the sums requisite for that purpose.

A clergyman, by whom I wanted to be informed of the state of these missions, observed to me, that in the church of Rome the propagation of the Christian faith is left to Jesuits and other Monks, who fly to foreign parts with the greater eagerness, as these missions, whilst they furnish them with an opportunity of labouring for the glory of their order, draw particular members of the society out of their cloisters, restore them to the world with some distinction, and give them a prospect of acquiring an entire independence, by the hopes of bishoprics *in partibus* †: that, the general and particular views of these new apostles sufficiently discover themselves by disturbances, contentions, quarrels, and religious schisms, which give such scandal to Pagans, to whom Christianity should be represented in no other light but as a religion replete with love and charity: but we think concerning this great work, added the clergyman, in the same manner as one of you Frenchmen did, who

* See the short account of his life, prefixed to the French translation of his theological tracts, published at Amsterdam in 1730.

† That is, *in partibus infidelium*. T.

without belonging to any religious order, went of his own accord amongst the infidels, with a view of converting them to the Christian faith; at the same time, he shewed me the printed narrative which this zealot had himself published concerning the efforts he made for the attainment of his end. These are the words of that narrative, which I have faithfully transcribed.

“ When I was amongst the infidels, I had an ardent desire to convince them that Christianity is the only true religion. I laid before them the articles of our faith in the simplest manner I could, and some of these Idolaters, Atheists, and Mahometans appeared disposed to receive the grace of faith which God gives to whoever he thinks proper. In the course of this my mission, I met with several of their bonzes, doctors, priests, imans, talapoins, and philosophers, who asked me whether mine was the only true religion; I proved to them that it was, by the scriptures, and by the miracles which are therein related from Genesis to the Apocalypse. But Atheists turned all I said into jest. The Idolaters cited to me the mythologies of their poets, and told me a thousand idle stories of the metamorphoses of their gods. The Mahometans did more; they entered into long discussions upon the Koran, and dwelt upon the voyage of their prophet and upon his angels, who were of so prodigious a magnitude, that, to take measure of their dimensions, would require travelling for seventy thousand years. I then proceeded to the miracles of our martyrs, but they laughed at my proofs; and this convinced me that all the methods I took were ineffectual. I wanted to demonstrate the truth of religion to them, by history, antiquities, the fathers of the church and the doctors of our universities. I insisted upon the lives of a considerable number of bishops who had composed books, in which they speak of councils

councils and fathers ; but, in answer to all I alledged, they told me that their gods were very ancient, and they had had in all ages priests, bonzes, dervises, talapoins, and other orders ; that the Mahometans had mendicant orders, such as Dervises, Geomaliers, Cadis, Imans, Santons, Alfaquis, Seiks, Hoggis, Murdens, and other personages, who are held in high esteem by the Muffulmans. I even met with persons with whom I disputed two whole days, and who thought to persuade me to embrace their religion ; and, with that view, urged arguments taken from the prophet Aly and their philosophers : this wicked purpose of theirs surprized me, as I had crossed the seas with no other view but to convert them. What amazed me most was, that our prelates, priests and monks, resident amongst those people, did not make them sensible of the truth of our religion, for freedom of dispute is allowed in Persia, on account of their earnest desire to convert us to Mahometanism : this made me necessarily conclude, either that the missionaries were very ignorant, or that they were rogues and hypocrites."

This account makes part of a printed narrative of eight or ten pages in quarto, published at Paris in 1666, by one Abbé d'Auberi, with the following title : " To the public, to the honour and glory of God, and the exaltation of the Holy Virgin and the whole celestial court—I will begin to blow the trumpet of the Gospel, &c."

The English regulate their behaviour to the natives of the new world by their principle of toleration. If this had been the maxim of the Spaniards, America would have preserved its native inhabitants, and its conquerors would have spared themselves the cruelties for which their descendants have equal reason to complain and be ashamed ; in a word, Sepulveda would

not

not have published a work to apologize to the world for those barbarities *.

Amongst the French refugees, there are some who have united themselves to the church of England, and adopted its rites and liturgy. I heard divine service in one of the churches which belong to the French of the English communion : they conform to the liturgy of the church of England in the French language.

It is so tedious, that the Roman Catholic service is short in comparison. "The English are fond of long prayers, said queen Elizabeth, when busy about preparing a liturgy, let us humour their taste." This service is read every day in the cathedrals, college-chapels, and parish churches to very thin congregations ; when the minor canon or curate acquits himself with the same air of importance, as that with which our fathers of the oratory repeat their litanies. On Sundays the whole church is filled, and the psalms are sung by all the parish boys, seated upon an amphitheatre which fills, on each side, the organ-loft. The Sunday service is followed by a sermon, at which people have the better opportunities for sleeping, as each family is shut up in a box, called a pew, closed on all sides to the height of four or five feet. These boxes fill the whole church, excepting three narrow passages, one in the middle and the others on the two sides.

* The title of this work is, *Democrats secundus : An licet bello Indos prosequi, eis auferendo dominia possessionesque, et bona temporalia, et occidendo eos, si resistentiam opposuerint, ut sic spoliati et subiecti, facilius iis suadeatur fides?* "Is it lawful to oppress the Indians, and to harass them by war, depriving them of their dominions, possessions, and temporal advantages, that, being thus stript and reduced, it might be the more easy to persuade them to embrace the faith?

The English churches, except the cathedral of St. Paul and the collegiate church of Westminster, are mostly built according to the model of the modern Jewish Synagogues. They are great halls with galleries on each side. At about two thirds of their breadth stands the pulpit, with a desk underneath, where the clerk sets the psalms. The upper end of the hall is occupied by the communion table, which is destitute of all ornament, and to which there is scarce any honour paid, or any marks of reverence shewn even at the time of communion, which is performed with great plates, and cups of silver gilt. Upon sacrament days, that is to say, once a month, the table has no other ornament but a linen table-cloth to cover it. Over it are generally to be seen the ten commandments, or certain verses of the New Testament, in frames more or less adorned with gilding and sculpture. Old women are charged with the care of the vestry, and these handle all the plate made use of at the Lord's supper. As I happened one Sunday in the afternoon to pass by St. Martin's church, near which I lodged, an old woman, who was removing the furniture of the communion-table, accepted of the offer I made her of helping to carry it to the vestry. Whilst I was crossing the ballustrade, I perceived, about the middle of the bundle, a napkin folded with all the care which our nuns shew for their vestry-linen, and upon this napkin a piece of leavened bread, very flat, and cut into little slices about as broad as one's thumb. I was almost tempted to taste of it; but dreading some profanation, and not understanding the old woman, who, on her side, did not understand me, I took care to avoid touching it. I afterwards was informed, that this bread was a fragment of that given at the sacrament.

The English churches are neither adorned with statues nor paintings. Of all those which I visited, there is but one at London embellished with the busts of St. Peter and St. Paul, painted in oval, on both sides of the communion-table.

Besides being ornamental, both paintings and statues in churches produce effects, which are not immediately discernible, and which, notwithstanding, are very real, and require some attention in the choice of pieces of this sort. I know in France, a country parish that has a considerable number of inhabitants. The tutelary saint is a great St. Lawrence, with a flat, square head, which stands just over the high altar. All the peasants of the village are so many copies, that appear to be chalked out according to the image of their patron. This St. Lawrence is to this village, what a vicar is to another, who joins the most unblemished character to the most agreeable countenance. In the space of twenty years, during which time he has been at the head of this village, the new generation of his parishioners no longer resemble the ancient breed; and the countenances of all the children partake, more or less, of the agreeableness of that of the pastor.

English cleanliness is conspicuous in all their churches: persons, hired for that purpose, are constantly busy in washing, sweeping, cleaning and dusting. The chanting of the English liturgy is as unmelodious as the sound of their bells. Each church has two or three bells of a very inconsiderable size, which make nothing but dissonance when rung at the same time, and each of which sounds false when rung by itself. I was tormented every Sunday with hearing St. Martin's bell ring early in the morning, almost for two hours together; the false and hoarse tone of this bell did not suffer me either to sleep or rest

in

in my bed *. The few opportunities they have of working, doubtless, deprives the English bell-founders of carrying their art to the same degree of perfection to which it has been raised in France, and in Germany in particular.

The outside of the churches of London is as much over-charged with ornaments, as the inside is destitute of them. St. Martin's, which I have just been speaking of, may, in this respect, vie with the church of the Sorbonne at Paris. It has a great portico, built in the same proportion as that of the temple of Minerva at Athens. London has five or six churches of this magnificence almost uniform ; a magnificence perhaps rather extravagant for buildings, neither lofty nor of any considerable extent, and under which they seem, as it were, to sink.

Each parish has, at its head, a rector, who is, in some measure, the superintendent of it. His whole labour is reduced to the article of preaching, when he thinks proper : the general business of the parish is left to a subordinate minister, who, with the title of curate, performs the parochial duties, at a fixed salary, and reckons with the rector for his dues ; the latter allows him some inconsiderable perquisites if he is satisfied with his services †.

St. Paul's, Westminster-abby, and most of the English cathedrals, have retained their chapters.

* I have heard it affirmed, that the Carmelite nuns of France are obliged, by their constitution, to have in their churches, two bells of opposite and jarring tones ; this renders their ringing analogous to their chaunting, and is intended as a species of mortification.

† These rectors have often, at the same time, several parish churches, with canonries in cathedrals and collegiate churches. This they effect by means of dispensations, which are easily obtained from the archbishop of Canterbury. The re-uniting of these incompatible benefices in one person, was one of the chief complaints of the Protestants against the church of Rome ; but personal interest easily reconciles all abuses.

The beneficed clergy of the church of England are computed at 90 deans and archdeacons, 550 prebendaries, and about 20,000 ministers, who are charged, either as principals or substitutes, with the care of parishes.

The cathedrals and collegiate churches, as likewise the abbies, had, before the Reformation, the same jurisdiction they have retained in France; and the extent of this jurisdiction was proportioned to the servile respect of the English for every thing belonging to the church. These rights of jurisdiction were called liberties; a name to this day retained by the district of Westminster-abbey, which, at the time of the Reformation, was reduced to a collegiate church. This liberty, perhaps, caused the district of that abbey to be chosen for the sessions of parliament, as a place entirely neutral and exempt from all royal jurisdiction.

The same places, as asylums, were secure from that royal jurisdiction, which was there set at defiance, by bankrupts, murderers, assassins, and even those who were guilty of high treason. At the conclusion of a negotiation as secret, as well conducted, Henry the Seventh had obtained leave of Innocent the Eighth, to set a guard upon criminals guilty of high treason, and to seize upon the goods of bankrupts, who had taken refuge in these asylums. That prince had occasion for all his authority to get this agreement put in execution *: he did not even presume to avail himself of it against Perkin, who disputed the crown with him, and who, after his defeat, had taken refuge in the abbey of Beuley.

Buryings are articles which bring in large fees to the clergy. These fees are the more considerable, as in all conditions of life, the magnificence of funerals

* See the Life of Henry the Seventh, by Lord Bacon.

makes

makes a branch of English luxury. The dead, who are buried in shrouds *, with pillows in their coffin, are carried, in a mourning-hearse, to the parish church, where the last honours are paid them in a manner proportioned to the expence which the heirs are willing to defray.

I have been told that the precautions necessary to be taken in order to secure dead bodies from the craving anatomists, greatly increase the expence, by making it necessary to dig graves of an enormous depth: in a word, a bill which I was shewn of the expences for burying in a church-yard a child of one of the lower sort of people, aged three years, amounted to two guineas. Christenings are dear in proportion. Marriages are no less expensive: the church of England baptizing all, as I have already observed, marrying all, and burying all, without distinction of belief or sect, its fees, for all these ceremonies, are a sort of fine which she obliges dissenters to pay. Even the Catholics themselves submit to the payment of this fine: their children can be entitled to nothing without being registered at their parish church: With regard to their dead, over whom all the ceremonies of their religion are performed in private, they pass through the hands of the curate of the parish, who, at receiving them, says, with John Choart in *La Fontaine*:

*Monsieur le Mort, laissez nous faire ;
On vous en donnera de toutes les façons :
Il ne s'agit que du salaire.*

“ Mr. Dead-man, let us do your busines; you shall be rightly accommodated in every sense: all you have to do is to pay well.”

* In virtue of a law, the intent of which was to favour the woollen manufactures, these shirts, these pillows, and every thing made use of at funerals, must be woollen.

The service for the dead is the same as the *nocturns* of the church of Rome. The two or three prayers mixed with them turn entirely upon the mercy of God towards his creatures, and upon the frailty and transitoriness of human things, which a view of death exhibits to the living.

In pursuance of the example set by the first Reformers, the church of England has suppressed the sacrifice and prayers intended to move the divine compassion in favour of the dead. They looked upon this sacrifice and these prayers as the consequence and result of that purgatory which they had resolved to abolish; and, in this respect, they thought like the last divines of the church of Rome, perhaps without knowing it, certainly without any design.

The usage of the primitive church would have given rise to a general union of the minds of all men, if it had been judged expedient to revive it. They made a sacrifice and offering, and communicated for the dead. This practice was in imitation of that of the Jews, the nature of which appears from the history of the Maccabees and the Misna, a collection as authentic as valuable, of the political, civil and religious customs of the Jewish nation. In this collection we read, at the word *Sanhedrim*, that a criminal condemned to death, offered a sacrifice on the very day of his execution; that he partook of it; and that this was intended as an atonement for his crime: and finally, that if he was not in circumstance to offer this sacrifice, another offered it for him*.

* This passage is cited in the *Reflections upon the Christian Religion*, tom. ii. p. 72. by Mr. Ferrand, the friend and fellow-student, in some sort, of the great Bossuet. See likewise the *Symbolum fidei Judæorum*, published in 1569, by Genebrard.

This passage, if understood of those who died in the ordinary course of nature, whilst it explains that in the history of the Maccabees, sufficiently accounts for the sacrifice for the dead, borrowed from the Jews by the primitive Christians, according to the observation of the Psalmist : “ The dead praise thee not, o Lord, nor those who lie in the tomb ; but we who are living bless thy name *.”

This fact being acknowledged, there remains no point of dispute, except concerning the manner of explaining *pro mortuis*. Some understand *pro* by *instead*, in the place of, *vice mortuorum*, and others, *for the relief of souls not yet purified*. ’Tis to this last sense that purgatory owes its origin. If the Reformers had availed themselves of the former sense, it would have furnished them with a resource indeed less compleat, than that which the Roman Catholic clergy found in praying for the dead, but which their successors have reason to repent having neglected.

The presbyterians, and the French refugees themselves, have had, in their chapels, baptismal fonts, and near these chapels, church-yards or burying-grounds, with a legal power to keep registers of baptisms and deaths, and to give extracts from them. This power they are said to have been deprived of : I do not know upon what occasion, or under what pretext. It is, at least, to be presumed, that the clergy of the church of England did not oppose their being deprived of that privilege; *is fecit cui profecit.*

* See a treatise by father Theophilus Raynaud, a jesuit, *De communione pro mortuis*; the first edition of which, published in 1630, and corrected by the Congregation of the Index, was defended by its author in two tracts, inserted in the 20th volume of the grand collection of his works. See likewise his treatise concerning the Sacraments. Bochard, *De baptismo pro mortuis.*

The methodists, though the latest sect of the non-conformists, have near their tabernacle a church-yard, but without prejudicing or obstructing the dues and rights of the parish. It was regulated that every one who lies buried in this church-yard, should have an inscription on his tomb, declaring the name of the parish to which he belonged: This is much the same practice as that at Paris, with regard to those who have vaults appropriated to themselves in the churches of monks or nuns.

The church of England observes, with regard to women, another ceremony, to which the wives of dissenters sometimes conform: I mean the ceremony of churching of women after lying-in.

I have seen the ceremony of confirmation performed at St. James's church: with the English it is no sacrament, they acknowledge only baptism and the Lord's supper as such *: 'tis no more than an honour done by the church of England to episcopacy. This ceremony was performed by a bishop, but not by the bishop of London. Being dressed in his rocket and lawn sleeves, assisted by two ministers, going round the rails which inclose the communion-table,

* It is not the fault of the English clergy, if the people are deprived of the benefit of confession. The Liturgy authorizes it in two cases. 1. By putting into the mouth of the minister, before the Lord's Supper is administered, an exhortation to those whose conscience is troubled with scruples or loaded with any great crime, to approach boldly, discover the state of their minds, and receive, with the advice and consolations they stand in need of, the grace of absolution by the efficacious word of God. 2. By offering the same consolation to the dying, and after confession administering to them, if they desire it, absolution in these words: " May our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has left his church the power of pardoning all penitent sinners, and all such as put their trust in him, forgive thee thy sins: and by his authority with which I am entrusted, I absolve thee of all thy sins, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen."

and

and laying his hands upon the heads of two persons at the same time, he, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, repeated a short prayer with an air of great dignity and importance; which being over, he laid his hands upon the two next. The advanced age of many of those who were confirmed, induced me to think that this ceremony is much neglected.

The station of ministers in London, in the country towns, and in the country itself, is, in proportion to their rank, very honourable *. The universities are the ordinary seminaries of clergymen. Youth, instructed in these places by public authority, imbibe no principles and prejudices, but such as suit with the English government.

A college-life, continued by those who intend for orders, generally gives them that self-sufficient, assuming, and almost insolent air, which, in some measure, gains upon the inferior clergy of France. They almost all of them marry as soon as they get livings, and the only thing that perplexes them is the choice of a help-mate; as the wife of the minister is, in many respects, the second person in the parish. To

* I must except the station of chaplain to a nobleman. By a servile cringing, to which an Englishman in any other situation of life would never descend, the fawning clergymen obtains benefices in the gift of his patron. Thus circumstanced, he resembles those ecclesiastics, who are attached to noble families in France, where they acquire influence, first as humble companions, then as friends, then as confidants. Some English chaplains attain the same end: a much greater number would, doubtless, attain it, if they had the resource of confession, and the direction of consciences.

In other respects, the condition of the French chaplains and country curates was formerly the same as that of English chaplains. In Rabelais, we meet with a Mr. Oudart, curate of Bafché, who served his lord as butler, as was then customary in France; and who, with his fine surplice, stole, and holy water, played the chief part in the tragico-comedy, with which the lord of Bafché entertained the pettifoggers belonging to the grand priory of St. Lovant. Rab. l. iv. c. 12.

support their dignity, they manage like most of the clerks of farmer-generals in France; that is to say, they live, furnish their houses and bring up their children in a manner proportioned to their present income, often even to their pretensions to a better benefice: in a word, if the living actually possessed, or that which they are in expectation of, amounts to two or three hundred guineas a year, they furnish their houses upon the footing of such of their parishioners as have an income equivalent, whether it be from commerce or land.

When one of these ministers happens to die, his children are often incumbered with his debts, and unable to earn their bread by working, or by many other creditable ways of life, which their education has used them to look upon as below them.

In these unfortunate circumstances, the condition of the daughters is most to be pitied. Unable to resolve upon getting their bread by labour, and ashamed to beg, they sometimes have recourse to libertinism, as a way of life which, whilst it exempts them from the necessity of working, may, at least, preserve them from beggary. Nothing is more common than for the children of the clergy to be in this deplorable condition, as the many and great charities which are intended to extricate them out of it, are by no means sufficient for that purpose.

London every year furnishes a contribution for these children, which proves the greatness of the evil by the remedy, and its being unable to obviate it. This contribution is voluntary. It is levied at St. Paul's church upon such pious or curious souls, as are brought thither by a concert executed by the greatest masters of vocal and instrumental music in the capital. The concert is discontinued for a sermon, which

which lasts about half an hour ; and the whole entertainment is over in two hours. The choir of St. Paul's is the place for this exhibition, which, as it occurs but once in a twelvemonth, brings hither a prodigious concourse of persons, of all ranks in life, and of both sexes.

The entrance of the church is, on the very morning of this concert, barricadoed in such a manner, that people cannot gain admittance without paying their contribution to persons who stand at the door to receive them.

I happened, on the eighth of May, the day of this ceremony, to pass by St. Paul's church, when I followed the multitude that was entering; but met with nobody that could explain to me the cause of such a concourse of people. Within side the church door, I saw a kind of gang-way, and found myself between two large plates or basons half filled with guineas ; there stood some clergymen, who were talking to their acquaintance. My perplexity was removed by one of these gentlemen, who beckoned to me, and in French encouraged me to advance. He was so kind as to explain to me the nature and end of the ceremony ; telling me, "that the charity which gave occasion to it was voluntary ; that several pious and well-disposed persons contributed to it amply ; and that those who came thither through curiosity, were expected to contribute for their entrance. French charity, added he smiling, is not obliged to give such proofs of its zeal, and has not such opportunities of displaying itself." "Such opportunities are not wanting to us, replied I ; and we shew our charity in a nobler manner, and with less ostentation than the English. Those very children, whose wants are relieved by the English only once in a twelvemonth,

are

are by us brought up, educated, and admitted to a share in our estates." He did not immediately see the drift of this raillery; but having afterwards taken my meaning, he squeezed my hand, and cried out, "French charity for ever:" offering, at the same time, to do all that lay in his power to serve me. These offers immediately took effect: he dispatched a young clergyman with me, who placed me in the choir in one of the most advantageous parts, both for hearing and seeing. I saw the person who introduced me as I was going out, and was informed by him that a very considerable sum had been collected at the door. He, at the same time, gave me to understand, that a young gentleman had presented himself in the crowd, who did not appear to be disposed to contribute, and that one of the ecclesiastics asking him whether he was the son of a clergyman, he had made answer, "As likely as not. My father, continued he, lives upon his own estate, and has always a chaplain in his house."

From this condition of the clergy and their families compared with that of churchmen in Roman Catholic countries, it seems natural to infer that the celibacy to which the latter are condemned, is infinitely preferable to the liberty which the former have of marrying; whether we consider the inconveniences which attend their making use of this liberty, or the ill consequences that result from it.

Happy or unfortunate, say the English, the sons of the clergy enjoy the blessing of existence; that is the greatest of all blessings, that blessing which puts the most distress circumstances upon a level with the most brilliant fortunes.

*Mecene a dit : qu'on me rende impotent,
Cul-de-jatte, goutteux, manchot ; pourvu qu'en somme
Je vive, c'est assez : je suis plus que content.*

'Twas a saying of Mecenas's. Let me be bed-rid, a cripple, gouty, or one-handed ; provided I live, 'tis enough : I am more than satisfied.

Be their condition what it will, these children contribute to population, and to increase the number of inhabitants in the three kingdoms and the colonies.

Public edification being the first duty of ministers, their marriages prevent a great deal of scandal, which it would be impossible to conceal from the curious, prying and sharp-sighted sectaries, their adversaries, amongst whom they live. Before the rise of Lutheranism, the clergy of the church of Rome, free from these shackles, followed at random the impulses of nature. Poggius, who was successively in the service of seven popes, in quality of secretary and confidant, answered the reproach made him by cardinal Julian de St. Angelo, for having had three children by a girl he kept, with a stroke of pleasantry *.

The marriage-state, with all the duties that arise from it, being attended with a variety of cares and troubles, such clergymen as happen to be entangled in it, have no time to concern themselves with other people's affairs, which for that very reason thrive the better : at least, if we may form a judgement from

* *Exprobras me habere filios, quod clericu non licet ; sine uxore, quod laicum non decet. Possum respondere, habere me filios, quod laicis expedit, & sine uxore, qui est mos clericorum ab orbis exordio fideliter observatus.*

" You reproach me with having sons, which is not proper for a clergymen ; without being married, which would be indecent even in a layman. I answer, that I have sons, which is an advantage to a layman ; though unmarried, which is the custom that has always been observed by the clergy from the very beginning of the world,"

what

what they suffer in Roman Catholic countries, by the eagerness of churchmen to direct them.

On account of these engagements, the English clergy are not in their own country either aliens or the slaves of a foreign power : the ties which bind them to their children, unite them at the same time to the state. Hence the clergy, as well as the bishops, are always devoted to the prevailing party in the government : thus we find that in all the revolutions by which England has been agitated since the Reformation, the established church has never taken the lead, but has quietly followed the impulse given by the directing power *.

The facts, whether religious or political, which have effected these revolutions, facts entirely composed of married men, were, it is true, connected with the constitution, by the same ties which attached the ministers of the established church to it ; but the attachment of those married men was neither owing to their being possessed of benefices, nor to the hopes of obtaining them, nor to any pretensions of having those perpetuated in their family. A blind enthusiasm in the common people, and views as extensive as profound in the leaders, as well with respect to themselves as their posterity, were the springs of these changes, in which, through *the word of God*, they cast a jealous eye, not so much upon the authority as the possessions of the clergy.

Since the several different branches of the state have no longer any object in view, but to keep the ground which some have gained, and others preserved, England has been divided into several peaceable sects, which, notwithstanding their diversity, are all agreed to look upon marriage as a fundamental article

* *Tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem.*

of religion, as the state most conformable to the order of providence *, and all the duties which that state enjoins, as the first duties of a citizen enlightened by religion. The numerous offspring, to whom a proper discharge of these duties gives birth, are so many pledges to the government of the submission and obedience of their fathers. And, indeed, what has not the head of a numerous family to apprehend from those intestine commotions, which might renew the horrors of a civil war †; horrors of which, an historian ‡, animated with the love of his country and of truth, has given so lively a picture.

In a word, the variety of sects is, at present, to England what the difference of families is to the whole state. Their views clash, their interests are incompatible, each of them aggrandizes and strengthens itself at the expence of the rest ; but the love of the general good which constitutes their particular welfare, and the fear of a common danger which might threaten each individual, unite their interests and their views, at least as long as hope shews itself, or the danger lasts. This opposition of views and interests contributes, like the clashing of the several parts of the natural world, to the strength and support of the whole machine : *rerum concordia discors.*

* The conjugal union in England supplies the place of the tie, which the nation might find in the unity of religion. They marry : therefore there is a God. Bayle lays down this maxim in the 16th of his New Letters against Maimbourg : he unfolds, establishes, and demonstrates it, in a manner the more satisfactory, as it is equally founded on sentiment and reason.

† ————— *Animi metuunt paterni*
Injurioso ne pede proruat (fortuna)
Stantem columnam, vel populus frequens
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
Provocet, imperiumque frangat. Hor. lib. iii. od. 35.

‡ Mr. Hume.

A N C I E N T M O N A S T E R I E S.

THE love of perfection innate in man, exalted by melancholy, and artfully worked upon by persons above the common level, has given rise to these new sects: in this respect, they have one common origin with the old religious orders, which improving upon each other in refinements of zeal to possess nothing, to enjoy nothing, to die of want *, at last came to share the landed estates of the greatest part of Europe.

Tithes were †, as well as in the rest of Europe, the first milk of these rising establishments: the bishops, mistaking them to be alienable, deprived the parish priests of them, which gave rise to an animosity as irreconcileable as unedifying, between the secular and regular clergy. It even reached the superior clergy, who sometimes made unavailing efforts to bring things to their ancient and natural state. England had prelates, who acted with the same vigour, with regard to this establishment, as was exerted in France, in opposition to the monks and the popes who patronized them, by the learned Ives of Chartres ‡, and Raoul bishop of Saintes; or as that firm-

* *Efurire docebant, & discipulos invenerunt.*

Πεινῆ διδάσκει, καὶ μαθήτας λαμβάνει.

“ They taught to fast, and found disciples.”

Diog. Laert. l. vii. has preserved to us this verse of an antient comic poet, concerning the chief of the Stoicks. The different sects of philosophers, not excepting that of Epicurus, at least as Gassendi has represented it, were all founded upon the desire of perfection. When I compare the founders of monastic orders to the antient philosophers, I speak with the monk William of Newbury, who, in a passage which I shall cite presently, calls them *Christianos philosophantes*, “ philosophising Christians.”

† In their origin, voluntary oblations, but which have since become an absolute duty. See Grimaudet, Treatise of Tythes, book ii. chap. 5.

‡ *Quā audaciā*, said Yves of Chartres to the monks, in his 280th letter, *quā audaciā, o monachi, exigere præsumitis ubi nihil exhibetis?*
Si ita vultis, baptizate nascentes, sepelite morientes, visitate jacentes,
nisi

ness shewn in the tenth century, by the majority of the superior clergy of France, at the council held at St. Dennis in 990. Upon this last occasion * the bishops almost received the crown of martyrdom from the monks : on every dispute of a similar nature, the prelates were bitterly inveighed against in the monkish writings. In this manner is Roger, archbishop of York, a confidant to Henry the Second, blackened and traduced by William of Newbury, in the fifth chapter of the third book of his history : *Quod detiorem fecerat in omnibus conditionem religiosorum,* (whom he calls *Christianos philosophantes*) *quam clericorum.* “ Because he had made the condition of the religious in every respect, worse than that of the clergy.

copulate nubentes ; in ecclesia denique aperiat os suum monachus, cujus officium est sedere & tacere. “ With what audaciousness, said Yves of Chartres to the monks, in his 28th letter, with what boldness ye monks, do you presume to exact where you do nothing ? If you have a mind to act, baptise those who are just born, bury the dead, visit the sick, marry couples disposed for wedlock ; in fine, let a monk, whose duty it is to sit still and be silent, open his mouth in the church and hold forth.” To strike at the source of this abuse, it was sufficient to infer the indefeasibleness of tythes from their inalienability.

* Aimoin has left us a narrative of this scandalous scene, in the life of St. Abbo, abbot of Fleury, who had played one of the chief parts in it. *Ortâ subito seditione, cum sermo ageretur de decimis ecclesiarum, resistente cis in hac re venerabile dei cultore Abbone, tantus in episcopos timor irruit ut, publicâ statione relicta, passim quisque diffugeret : inter quos Seguinus, Senonum archiepiscopus primatum in ea synodo sibi usurpans, primatum quoque fugae arripuit, & inter fugiendum securi inter scapulas iectus, lutoque a popularibus oblitus ægrè evexit.* “ A sedition having risen on a sudden, when the tythes of the clergy came to be discussed, the venerable and religious abbot opposing them, the bishops were seized with such terror that they all fled, having left their public stations ; amongst the rest, Seguin the archbishop of Soissons, though he pretended to the first place in that synod, was the first to fly, and being in his flight wounded between the shoulders with an axe, and rolled in the dirt by the people, he with difficulty escaped.”

In

In the century following, the business of tythes had raised great disturbances throughout a considerable part of Germany. Sigefroy, bishop of Mentz, had, by main violence, seized upon all the tythes belonging to the territory of his diocese; and being supported by the emperor Henry the Fourth, he continued to enjoy them for five years. The affair being laid before a council, the bishops answered the complaints of the abbots of Fuld and Halberstat, that the tythes had perhaps been a necessary milk to the infancy of monasteries, which might easily do without them in their present state of manhood. At last the abbots, to compromise the matter, had consented to share the tythes with the bishop, who still enjoys them by the same right.

In the revolution which happened under Henry the Eighth, and his son, the tythes were, in some counties of England, encroached upon by the nobles; in others, the inferior clergy were reinstated in them; in other places the people shook them off, availing themselves of the assertion of their countryman Wickliff: "that they are nothing else but alms which the people may dispense with bestowing, if those to whom they are given, don't live according to the canons of the church:" an assertion which had been before advanced by certain Italian canonists, who gave very sharp reasons for it.

By means of commendams the bishops of France have recovered the tythes, but 'tis at the expence of the inferior clergy, whom this measure has not reconciled to the first usurpers.

With regard to monastic institutions, England was a sort of land of promise to that fraternity. An historian has observed, that in the troubles which, about the middle of the twelfth century, filled the reign

reign of king Stephen, a greater number of monasteries had been erected in this kingdom than in the whole preceding century *.

We have observed the same taste revived in France in the last century, with a fervour which would hardly have been conceived, if the monuments that prove it were not visible throughout the kingdom: the parish of St. Sulpice alone saw, about this time, erected at Paris, in its precincts :

The little Augustinians,	in	—	1609
Nov. des Jesuites,	—	—	1610
Carmes Dechaux,	—	—	1611
The Calvary,	—	—	1625
Jacobins,	—	—	1632
Belle-chasse,	—	—	1635
Precious Blood,	—	—	1636
Recollects,	—	—	1640
St. Joseph,	—	—	1641
Theatines,	—	—	1648
Mercy,	—	—	1651
Our Lady in the Wood,	—	—	1654
The Holy Sacrament,	—	—	1655
The little Cordelier Nuns,	—	—	1660
The Premontrés,	—	—	1661
Christian Instruction,	—	—	1662

* *Multò plura sub brevitate temporis quo Stephanus regnavit, quam centum retro annis, servorum & ancillarum Dei monasteria initium sumpserunt.* “ More monasteries both of monks and nuns, were founded during the short reign of king Stephen, than for a hundred years before.” *Guil. Newbr. l. ii. c. 15.* See the *Monasticum Anglicanum* published by Dugdale, in 1655, 1661, and 1673; it makes three volumes in folio. Upon running through this collection, I was struck with the prodigious number of religious houses established in England by the order of Fontevrault. In these convents the English women found means to gratify their ruling passion, of possessing the supreme power at home.

Foreign Missions,	—	—	1663
The Consolation,	—	—	1669
Pantemont,	—	—	1671
Visitation,	—	—	1673
Orphan Girls,	—	—	1680
The good Pastor,	—	—	1688
The Carmelite Nuns,	—	—	1689
Notre Dame des Prez,	—	—	1690
St. Tecle,	—	—	1700
St. Valere,	—	—	1706

I do not place in the number of these new foundations, the mad-house, the hospitals of incurable, the convalescents and the Charité, the invalids, the Mazarine college, the seminaries of St. Sulpice, of St. Lewis, &c.

The multiplication of the houses of the ancient orders, and the creation of a number of new societies, have appeared to the learned Spaniard Diego of Saavedra, as contrary to the interest of the state as to that of religion, and even to the monasteries themselves. In the 66th of his political emblems, considering this multiplication with all the reserve becoming an author writing under the power of the inquisition, he reckons it amongst the causes of Spain's being so ill peopled, and the Spanish monarchy's being weakened and reduced. He then takes shelter under the authority of the third council of Lateran, (which, in the very age that gave rise to the Mendicant orders, expressly forbids the establishment of any new religious society), to revive the memory of the remonstrances by which the council of Castile had unsuccessfully applied to king Philip the Third, that the age for commencing the novitiate should be fixed to sixteen, and the age for making the vows to twenty:

verum,

verum, adds the wise Spaniard, *confidentior pietas & animi scrupulus prudentiae parum congruens incommoda illa facile dissimulavit.* “ But the confidence of piety and the scrupulousness of soul, which is little compatible with prudence, easily overlooked those inconveniences.”

A monastic life was but too well suited to the serious and gloomy temper of the English nation *, not to make a most rapid progress in that kingdom ; in consequence of this temper, it continued to retain its first fervour in that country longer than in any other ; and upon this account England merited the appellation of the *Isle of Saints.* The excesses of this sort which its inhabitants ran into, served not a little to give a colour to the violent methods adopted by Henry the Eighth and his successors, in order to form a new people.

The three kingdoms are, at this day, strewed with the ruins of these pious foundations ; which, upon different accounts, are respected by the whole nation †. Fathers incumbered with a large family,

* This taste was so congenial to the climate of England, that the Saxon dynasties saw their first kings, when hardly converted to Christianity, descend from the throne by their own choice, get their heads shaved, and pass the remainder of their days in a cloister. The history of the other barbarous nations, who settled in Europe and embraced the Christian religion, furnishes no example of a fervour of devotion so general or so constant. Before the conquest of Britain by the Romans, Druidism had occasioned the same zeal. *Disciplina Druidum in Britannia reperta*, says Cæsar, *atque in Galliam inde translata* ; & nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illò, discendi causâ, proficiuntur. “ The discipline of the Druids had its first origin in Britain, and from thence passed over into Gaul ; and those who are now desirous of making a proficiency in that doctrine, and becoming thoroughly acquainted with it, generally repair to that kingdom, in order to study it, and endeavour to become adepts in the knowledge taught by that sect.”

† The Athenians had left the temples of Attica, violated by the Persians, in ruins : these ruins were in the eye of posterity,

look upon them as asylums which might have afforded reception to their children ; gentlemen of fortune view them as fine estates, on which a son of theirs might make a figure as a mitred abbot ; travellers consider them in the light of inns, where discreet hospitality * reconciled the jealousy of the people to the opulence of the house ; foreigners regard them as objects which furnished matter for a comparison between England and their respective countries : in fine, the lovers of antiquity consider them as pious foundations, whose magnificence was an ornament to the country in which they were erected. These edifices are some of the principal objects of investigation of the society of antiquaries ; this society, at different times, causes plans and views of them to be taken, which now make a curious collection.

To the ancient possessors of these places, to the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Bernardines, the Clunists, the Fontevrists, &c. have succeeded the Presbyterians, the Anabaptists, the Quakers, the Herrenhutters, the Methodists, &c. all of whom are fathers of families, all of whom serve the state, either in person or by their children, in domestic and foreign trade, in the colonies, in the church, in war, and at sea.

What zealous Catholic, upon seeing so strange a metamorphosis, but has a right to apply to England,

monuments of the danger to which public liberty had been exposed, and of the valour of those who had sacrificed themselves to preserve it. Pausan. l. ii and 20. Isoorat, Paneg.

* The 28th of Peter de Blois's letters, turns upon the hospitality of the ancient monks of England, and the degeneracy of their successors ; this subject is treated with equal liveliness and energy.

what

what pope St. Leo said of Pagan Rome*? But England has by this change gained a great increase of inhabitants, an excess of whom she can never fear †; establishments as numerous, as solidly useful with respect to the sciences, the arts, and all the wants of human nature; a people amongst whom those of learned professions are not educated in principles and prejudices incompatible with the views of the government, &c.

The English maintain, that France is no way a gainer by the diminution which the monastic state suffers every day in that kingdom; that it would be in no respect the better for its entire suppression; in a word, that the monks, both for number and every thing laid to their charge, are greatly surpassed by that vast number of abbés, who, at Paris, seem to live for nothing but to eat and sleep.

With regard to the cultivation of land, it may very well be doubted whether the kingdom would be at all bettered by it, at least, by those who, knowing the present state of agriculture in France, cannot be ignorant that the lands, and farms belonging to the monks, to the knights of Malta, &c. are the best cultivated in the kingdom; that their farms are kept in the best order, and the farmers in the easiest circumstances. If we cast an eye on the most distant tracts of Italy, this doubt will be still farther justified, when we see a great part of that fine country of no value at all, except in such districts as are

* *Magnum sibi videbatur assumpsisse religionem, quia nullam respubebat falsitatem.* “It thought itself become very religious, because it rejected no falsehood.” Sermon ii. de Apost. Petro & Paulo.

† The first of God’s benedictions on Abraham: *multiplicabo semen tuum sicut stellas cœli, & velut arenam quæ est in littore maris.* Gen. xxii. 17. “I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand upon the sea-shore.”

immediately dependant upon wealthy monasteries. One thing at least is certain, namely, that England as well as France is indebted to the ancient monks for the first grubbing up of its lands, the first ideas of a melioration, the drying up of marshes, and all the establishments necessary as well for the construction of that prodigious number of buildings which the ancient monasteries had within their inclosure, as for all the wants of numerous communities.

Du Cange's Dictionary informs us, at the word *Hospes*, that the clergy rendered their land valuable by sharing it for the quit-rent, with such farmers as were invited thither by property. It was this measure that caused France to begin to grow populous again in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was this that enabled the famous Suger to double the revenues of the abbey of St. Dennis. The collection of French historians, by Du Chesne, presents us with the memoirs of that abbé's administration, his will which exhibits the result of it, and a sort of balance of accounts; lastly, with the proclamation, which he published in 1145; and according to which, the territory of Vaucresson, near Versailles, that he had just grubbed, and where he had built houses and a church, was peopled in a very short time. These pieces are well worth the study and attention of those who have colonies either to plant or direct.

The reader will, perhaps, oppose this observation by that of the learned Abbe le Bœuf, in his history of the diocese of Paris, relative to the depopulation and annihilation, as it were, into which the districts of Chateaufort and Chevreuse have fallen, since they came into the hands of the nuns of St. Cyr. But the source of this depopulation, unknown to lands possessed by monks, holds only with regard to the

the estates of noblemen, which are managed by stewards.

The example of Henry the Eighth had been proposed to our Henry the Fourth. It was observed to him, "That a king of France, desirous of employing his useless subjects, for the security of the state, should lay out what goes to the church in raising soldiers, without meddling with those who have the care of souls, and consequently, might keep on foot three armies, each of one hundred thousand men and a hundred cannon; might supply his garrisons with arms; pay his officers; take off a third part of the taxes, and put a million of money every year into his coffers*." Those grandees who suggested such views to Henry the Fourth, and those who should happen now to have the like sentiments †, do not, doubtless, form the same estimate of the divine grandeur as they do of their own, which they measure by the number of idle persons about them. Have we not seen M. Silhouette abused and turned into ridicule, for making an attempt to reduce this grandeur, by laying a tax upon coaches and liveries!

Happily for England, Henry the Eighth, laying the axe to the root of ecclesiastical immunities, had an eye chiefly to the scarcity of money, which equally

* D'Aubigne, Hist. univ. I. iii. c. 25.

† M. Colbert had such views as these, but in moderation; and he discovered his mind by the edict of 1688, *with regard to the reformation of the monasteries*. The monks renewed the clamours which had, in the preceding age, blown the fire of civil wars. The edict of 1668, and the reflections with which M. Colbert caused it to be accompanied, were attacked with a virulent invective, published by the Jacobin, who wrote the *Fatalité de St. Cloud*. That tract was entitled, *The new apparition of Luther and Calvin, in reflections upon the edict of the reformation of monasteries, with an examen of the treatise of the political power, with regard to the age proper for the religious profession*. Paris, 1669.

affected both himself and his court favourites. Their necessities threw into commerce the greatest part of the church lands, which were adjudged to the highest bidder. These spoils, either reunited to the royal domain, or left in their natural state to courtiers, would have been doubly lost : the royal domain and the great proprietors would never have been gainers by them like the first possessors ; they would always have been sacred to the bulk of the nation, which, being now possessed of them, manages them in a manner equally advantageous to the proprietor, who is interested to improve them in proportion to their high value * ; and to the state, the most considerable part of whose wealth consists in the products of agriculture. The English, when they recal to memory this great achievement of Henry the Eighth, may say with the renowned chief of antiquity, “ We should have been undone, if we had not been ruined !”

Before I drop this subject, I must endeavour to draw a picture of the behaviour of the English sectaries to each other, from the manner in which the several religious orders live together.

These orders have no love, and but little esteem for each other ; they shew their mutual jealousy openly. The most regular, learned, and opulent, avail themselves of their regularity, knowledge, and wealth, to look down with an eye of contempt upon those orders which lead a life of idleness, ignorance, and beggary. What troubles both in church and state have been excited by their rivalships and jealousies, when sovereigns, either through weakness or some

* *Coacta
Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono.*

other cause, have been unable to keep them in awe!

Except at these critical times, religious orders live together like those dogs in a yard, which are,

"Companions in the same house; and have one
"common master."

La Fontaine's fable of the Ape and the Cat." that is to say, with an appearance of unanimity, which is in no danger of being dissolved by a little backbiting or a few squabbles, almost unavoidable in a community.

Such is, at this day, the behaviour of these English sectaries to each other: they have formerly seen times as turbulent as the present age is peaceable; in those days the Presbyterians or Puritans long acted the principal part,

THE PURITANS.

The despotism of the court of Rome appeared to be the chief object of the solicitude and zeal of that sect. They saw this despotism continued in the episcopacy which Henry the Eighth had retained. They endeavoured to raise the jealousy of the sovereign, by comparing each prelate to that insolent archbishop of York, who, seeing at his feet the renowned William the Conqueror, said to those who were in a hurry to raise him, "*Sinite illum jacere ad pedes Petri* *," "Suffer him to lie at the feet of Peter." They exhausted themselves in declamations, to prove that Rome and episcopacy were born enemies to royalty and to all temporal authority, and that submissive subjects and a faithful people were to be found in their sect alone.

* *Guil. Neubr.* l. ii. p. 2.

Their

Their principles soon changed with their circumstances : at the first appearance of a persecution they proved, from God's own word, that revolt became a necessary remedy to subjects whose consciences were forced, and they acted in consequence.

Prynne, a zealous Presbyterian, demonstrated, *ex professo*, that it is lawful to use the sword against heretics ; a demonstration, which, in 1688, a Benedictine monk retorted against the French Protestants, who complained of the severities then inflicted upon them.

Even before the Presbyterians had attained to that pitch of grandeur to which their persecuting spirit helped to raise them, they had declared, they had preached, and had even caused it to be printed in their profession of faith in the reign of queen Elizabeth, that kings are subordinate like their subjects to the authority of the ecclesiastical magistrate. "Princes," said Cartwright, one of their principal writers, "should submit to the church, lay at its feet their scepters and their crowns, and lick the dust of its footsteps." Did Gregory the Seventh ever speak to sovereigns in a style more haughty or more arrogant?

France shews us the same variations in the language and conduct of the religionists and leaguers. They are to be seen in the requests and supplications of the Huegonots addressed to Francis the First and Henry the Second, compared with the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, and with the treatise *De potestate magistratus in subditos*, &c. What a multiplicity of arguments did the Catholics oppose to these principles of revolt ! To the disgrace of human reason, those self-same Roman Catholics were afterwards seen to adopt those very principles, and make them the basis of the league,

league, which they entered into against Henry the Fourth. These principles were incessantly inculcated in the sermons, declamations, and libels, of Commolet, Boucher, and the chief incendiaries. A French bishop, William Rose bishop of Senlis and an advocate general, dared to own them ; the former in a treatise, intitled *De justa R. P. Christianæ in reges impios auctoritate* ; the latter in a libel of 260 pages, with the title of *Ludovici d'Orleans expostulatio* : writings in which we find with astonishment, a verbal repetition of the authorities and examples cited in the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, and in the treatise *De potestate magistratus in subditos*. Alternately, and according to the circumstances *, Protestants and Catholics sung in chorus, with the vestry-keeper of the holy chapel :

*Pour soutenir nos droits que le ciel autorise,
Abimons tout plutot : c'est l'esprit de l'Eglise †.*

“ In support of our rights, which are authorised by heaven, let us make a general havock : it is the spirit of the church.”

Part of the ancient religious orders, and all the modern ones, adopted the regicide maxims : they necessarily adopted them, and they will always do the same in similar circumstances. These maxims, now universally exploded, had been received by the Je-

* *Private causæ pietatis aguntur obtentu, et cupiditatum quisque suarum religionem habet veluti pedissquam.* S. Leo epist. ad Thedosum.

† “ God's death ! the goods of the church ! O no, no ; the English St. Thomas was willing to die for them : if I died, should I not be a saint likewise ? ” said brother John des Entommeures, arming himself with the cross against the soldiers of Picrochole, who ransacked his convent. Rab. I .i. c. 17.

suits, who preserved them with as much care as the Guebres watch the sacred fire : this was indeed in their hands a sort of sacred fire, with which they might have set the whole world in a conflagration, whenever they thought proper ; but which, being taken out of their hands, by their own mismanagement, has consumed themselves *.

The sage Montaigne, struck with this opposition of sentiments, exclaimed, “ See the strange imprudence with which we dispute sacred maxims, and how we have rejected and resumed them, according as the face of affairs has changed in public storms. This solemn question, “ whether it is lawful for subjects to rebel, and turn their arms against their prince in defence of their religion ? ” was maintained, as you may remember, by many mouths last year, and was the chief prop of one party, whilst the negative was the support of another ; hear from what quarter comes the voice and instruction both of one and the other—I see this evidently, that we do our utmost to make religion subservient to our passions †.”

Let us now return to England. The preference given by James the First and his successor to the church of England, soon tired the patience of the Presbyterian party. Those of that sect who could not bear what they called the abomination of desolation in the holy place, immediately left their country, and went over in crowds to America, where the settlement which they made at Massachuset, to

* “ And a fire was kindled in their company ; the flame burnt up the wicked, the earth was opened, and swallowed up Dathan, and covered the company of Abiram.” Psalm cv.

† This passage of the twelfth chapter of the second book of Montaigne’s Essays is not to be found in the first edition of 1580. Montaigne added it a short time before his death, after the Catholic had openly made profession of the principles, which they had, till then opposed in the Protestant writers.

the north of Maryland, has by fifty years preceded every English establishment on the continent of America. Being in this colony left to themselves, and to their enthusiasm, warmed by their constant skirmishes with the savages round them, they, with a thousand extravagant ideas of reformation and rigid purity, split themselves into a variety of parties, which persecuted each other. In the mean time this colony, which was soon in a flourishing condition, became as it were the nursery of the colonies now possessed by England in North America; and, notwithstanding its frequent and numerous emigrations to Great Britain, it still has above 50,000 inhabitants.

Such of the Presbyterians as a less degree of enthusiasm suffered to stay in England and weather the storm, came at last, in the days of Charles the First. *to subject the scepter and crown to their church*, when the Independents, availing themselves of the principles which had secured the victory to that party, seized upon the fruits they were upon the point of gathering.

From the time of this revolution, what had appeared to the Presbyterians, whilst in power, as consummate wisdom, was no longer considered by them in any other light but that of a tumultuous anarchy. They expressed this dissatisfaction in a work, the four parts of which were published successively in the course of the years 1648, 1649, and 1651*; a work which procured its author the honour of being sent to the tower by Oliver Cromwell †.

* With the title of *De Anarchia Anglicana*.

† Cromwell, as soon as he had attained the height of his wishes, considered submission to the powers in being as an indispensable

This

This discontent was not confined to writings : Charles the Second owed his restoration to it. The church of England had been the first pretext, and one of the principal causes, of the revolt. The Presbyterians brought about the restoration of that likewise ; they would even have restored the Pope himself, if his restoration, by delivering them from the Independents, had opened even the remotest prospect of success to their pretensions.

They afterwards helped to hasten the fall of James the Second ; but the revolution did not better their condition. The church of England gained ground by it, as well by the advantages which king William's policy secured to it, as by his success in gaining over the most eminent of the Presbyterian party to the church, and attaching them to its interests, by benefices.

The house of Hanover having continued this system, the church of England gained new strength by expanding itself, and has acquired a superiority over the dissenting communions, which seems to have secured it from all the efforts of their jealousy and malice.

King William, who was educated in the bosom of Puritanism or rigid Calvinism, had found by his own experience, how opposite the maxims of that sect were to the authority which he aimed at establishing in England : they had, in his early infancy, deprived him of the Stadholdership, which was hereditary to his family.

The misfortunes of Charles the First owed their origin to the maxims which influenced the conduct

duty. The notes upon Hudibras, tom. iii. p. 332. contain a sermon preached by Cromwell himself, upon the text of St. Paul, *Omnis anima potestatibus, &c.* *A popolo pazzo,* says the Italian proverb, *prete spiritato.*

of

of the Scotch with respect to that prince. The Scotch themselves had discovered them in the history of the troubles of their country in the years 1638, 39, and 40; a history which fills 600 pages in octavo, said in the title page to be printed at Dantzig, but in fact printed in Holland, by Blaeu. This work, in which the different events, their causes, and their various springs, are unfolded, with all the confidence that fanaticism can inspire, had been profoundly meditated upon by king William, who could not see, without that emotion which even a reader, not interested, can hardly avoid feeling, by what degrees a blind hatred to episcopacy led the Scotch army to deliver up the unfortunate Charles the First to Cromwell, a hatred in which the three millions of florins were not forgotten, which that prince had engaged, by the treaty of the fifth of September 1640, to pay to *his brethren of Scotland*, by way of indemnity.

I have read this history, which is written in elegant Latin *; and I doubt that, notwithstanding all the protestations of respect for the kingly power and person of Charles the First, which make part of the deliberations, resolutions, and remonstrances, that have been there inserted at full length, no English monarch, who has given it a perusal, will be at all disposed to establish Calvinism as the predominant religion of his kingdom.

To the English Puritans let us join those French Refugees, who are united with them by Calvinism. They do not, however, form one body: the French Refugees, though they all understand English, have

* With this title, *Rerum nuper in regno Scotiæ gestarum historia, seu verius commentarium causas, occasiones, progressus horum motuum breviter et dilucidè proponens, simul cum synopsi concordiæ, quantum hactenus inita est; per Irenæum Philaketen Eleuterum, Dantisci, 1641.*
sermons,

sermons, a liturgy, and ministers of their own *. Their liturgy is that of Geneva, from whence come the ministers, who read prayers and preach to them in French.

I have assisted at their service : it consists of psalms, which are sung in French ; of sermons and prayers. A young minister, whom I heard preach, was just arrived from Geneva ; he had the air, the deportment, the tone, and the whole outward appearance, of a spruce abbé. He explained, in a connected discourse, how Christ had been a stumbling-block to the Jews, folly to the Greeks, &c. † ; and this discourse was as empty of matter, as the style was smooth and easy. I took notice, that *the divine man, that divine man, the divine legislator,* were the only circumlocutions, made use of by him to denote Jesus Christ.

In the prayers for the king and the royal family of England, inserted in the liturgy of these Refugees, they add one, as affecting as it is solemn, by which they request it of God, that he would, in his mercy, be pleased to soften the hearts of sovereigns irritated against his people. This prayer, uttered in England, in an assembly of Frenchmen, struck me the more, as I knew how they stood affected with regard to France. It is the most lively affection, not only in the few that remain of the first Refugees, but in the third and fourth generation. They all acknowledge no other home but France : they look upon England as a foreign country ; and they firmly hope, that a new Cyrus, by breaking their chains, will restore them to that land which is the object of their wishes.

* * Great part of the French Refugees use the liturgy of the church of England, in their own Language. T.

† *Ad Corinth. ep. i. c. 1.*

The first Refugees were enemies to France ; enemies whose despair greatly promoted king William's cause ; they furnished him with gazetteers, writers, soldiers, engineers and officers, with whom he had the highest reason to be satisfied. Fournier, a French refugee was the inventor and director of that infernal machine which the English, in 1693, launched against St. Maloe *. The mischief which they did their country, their good wishes in favour of England, and the pleasure with which they behold the misfortunes of France, proceed from the love which they still retain for their native soil : they are like lovers, who cannot banish from their hearts a mistress who has used them ill ; they will again devote themselves to her intirely, as soon as she appears to restore her affections to them. Martial, with a heart torn with such a conflict of passion, exclaimed,

*Odi & amo : quare id faciam si forte requiris,
Nescio ; sed fieri sentio et excrucior.*

To know thoroughly the warmth and the whole force of these sentiments, it is sufficient to hint to these French refugees some particular circumstance which shews in the court of France a disposition to recall them :

*Veræ voces tunc demum pectore ab imo
Eliciuntur.*

All unanimously conclude for leaving England, with an alacrity which can have its source only in the tenderest affection †.

I accidentally became acquainted with an old gentleman of Dauphine, who had quitted France and

* See *The Interests of England ill understood*, 2d edition, p. 174. and those that follow.

† Their situation is pretty nearly the same in which the edict of May 1765 has left the civil officers in France, whom she has dismissed ; born inveterate enemies to the new administration so long

the French service at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz : being a man of family, he at first, through a delicacy of sentiment, declined serving against his country ; but afterward found himself obliged, by poverty, to descend to the low employment of a spy. During the siege of Lisle in Flanders, he passed the day in the town, and the night in the camp of the allies : a marriage, which brought him children, laid him under a necessity of continuing this trade, which he still followed in the war of 1740. When he was above 90, paralytic, subsisting upon a small pension settled upon him by the court, and the assistance which he received from two of his daughters, who lived in a low way, he once expressed himself to me thus, “ If Lewis the XVth thought proper “ to recall to his dove-house all the doves whom the “ bad policy of Lewis the XIVth banished from it, I “ would to-morrow set out upon my crutches ; and “ once more visit France, my beloved country ; my “ journey would be the most agreeable period of my “ life, if I was to die immediately upon my arrival “ in Dauphine ; even so, I should at least have the satisfaction of being buried there *.”

This man computed at 30000 souls the number of French Refugees settled in London alone, all of whom had a trade, or some fund, more or less considerable, in commerce. He had heard, that one of the

as they are excluded from it ; they will praise it up to the skies as soon as they are admitted to a share of it.

* We meet with the same sentiments of affection for France in a letter from Peter of Blois to Eudes bishop of Paris, xxvi
Annos in Angliâ peregrinans, linguam quam non noveram audivi. Heu mibi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est ! Et non est qui compatitur exuli !
Nunc finem imponet peregrinationi meæ, et saltem semel, ante supremi spiritus exhalationem, in aëre nativo mibi liceat respirare ! Præfules Galliarum apud quos factus sum tanquam alienigena, mortuus à corde, tanquam vas perditum, miki nimis obduruerunt. Veniat austera perflans æstrum & liquefaciat illud, &c.” Petr. Blois, Epist. 160.

principal

principal causes that obstructed their being recalled, was the perplexity which a sudden excess of population might cause in the ministry, already sufficiently busied in the present state of affairs : herein he was, no doubt, misinformed.

The attachment of these Refugees to the religion of their fathers, has lost a great deal of that ardour which was kept up by persecution. Notwithstanding the continued efforts of a number of persons interested to support it, the spirit of persecution has equally lost ground in France ; the indulgence shewn to the refugees in their own country, would promote what the English toleration began ; the facility of gaining the ministers, the pretensions to places and employments, and the desire of enjoying the privileges of a citizen, would do the rest. “ I predict to France all the calamities that laid it waste in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, if ever it relaxes any of the severe, but just and wise laws, with respect to the Protestants,” was the sentiment of the Jesuits conveyed to the public in 1756, by the abbe de Caverac : that is to say, it would have been necessary to banish all the Parisians, because under Charles V. they were Maillotins, Armagnacs under Charles VI. Leaguers under Henry IV. and Frondeurs under Louis XIV. This just severity, might the apologete for the massacre of St. Bartholomew have said, would have prevented the ills which laid France waste in those unhappy periods. But an enlightened policy has in those circumstances the same resources as physic ; by remedies and patience they get the better of the disorder, preserving the patient, and at last restoring his first vigour ; to continue the comparison, the recalling of the Protestants would be a miracle like that of the resurrection. Oriental despotism could never secure its conquests otherwise than by depriving the subdued

provinces of their inhabitants ; Roman policy attached them to the empire by the tye of brotherhood, which it established between them and its own citizens ; it awed them by force only at critical junctures ; these being over, the conquered became friends, fellow-citizens, and brothers of the victor. Such was the issue of the social war ; a war as alarming by its circumstances and its objects, as by the mischiefs which it threatened. Thus has France acted with regard to the Jesuits : they were dangerous only by their union ; she contented herself with disuniting them, and condemning the institution which bound them ; she has banished only those, who, preferring an artificial to their native country, may justly indulge the complaints which Virgil puts into the mouths of the Greeks, who were thrown upon the coasts of Italy after the siege of Troy*. But let us now return to our French Refugees : happening one day to cross a parish church, I fell in with a crowd of women, one of whom attacked me very briskly upon the severity of France to the Protestants, to which body most of those women belonged ; after having solemnly assured her, that I had no share nor influence in the conduct of which she complained, I took occasion to enquire into the cause of that numerous meeting ; she answered me, with an awkward bashfulness, that the parish that day distributed the alms of the month ; that the charity of the English was the source of that success with which God blessed all their undertakings ; that he would always look with an eye of anger upon a kingdom which had cut off its arms and legs to deliver up the remainder to the Jesuits ; that even

* *Quicunque Illacos bello violavimus agros,
Supplicia et fasius pœnas expendimus omnes,
Vel Priamo miseranda manus.*

Virg. Æneid. I. ii. 255.

French.

French people found themselves under a necessity of praying to God against France in favour of England: in fine, that every Frenchman, who did not do his utmost to open the eyes of Lewis XVth to the political and religious reasons which should determine him to restore the edict of Nantes, partook of the guilt, for which, as she assured me, Lewis the XIVth, and all the jesuits, were burning in hell-fire. Several women, all of whom spoke French, joined in the conversation: I could not get out of their clutches till I had assured them, that, at my departure from Paris, I heard it positively affirmed that a resolution had been taken in council, to give free leave to all the French Refugees, that thought proper, to return to France: the affairs of Calas had entered into this conversation; those women were acquainted with every circumstance of it; they looked upon it as an affair of religion; they maintained, that Calas had been sacrificed through hatred to those of his persuasion: they loudly exclaimed, that this cruel farce was played with no other intention but to keep the sovereign from every view, which might have any tendency to make him recall the Refugees.

QUAKERS.

I shall say but little of the Quakers, whose sect is sufficiently known. The Bible, which they explain after a way of their own, is the only book they pay any regard to; and the Holy Ghost promised to believers by Jesus Christ, is the principal object of their dogma, their devotion, and their confidence. This confidence is so great, that they look upon baptism as superfluous, excepting when grown persons are inspired with the desire of it by the Holy Ghost.

Their meetings bear a great resemblance to the English clubs, on account of the silence and meditation which prevail at those assemblies. They enter without the least ceremony, keep their hats on, and seat themselves without saluting or taking the least notice of those present; with their hands crossed upon the heads of their canes, they pray or meditate inwardly, swinging their bodies backwards and forwards, after the manner of the German Jews in their synagogues. The women take up one side of the hall, the bottom of which faces the door, and is occupied by a kind of bench or gallery. I at first thought that those I saw in this gallery were a sort of priests and rabbies; but I was given to understand that they all seated themselves indiscriminately, and that there are neither priests, ministers, or presidents, at their assemblies.

Every Quaker preaches as soon as the spirit moves him: the spirit moves even the women themselves, and then they hold forth. These inspirations are not fixed or regular: during two hours that I passed in a Quakers Meeting, at the first time of my visiting them, nobody preached; one old man rose, looked about the hall, puffed and blowed a good deal, and then sat down without saying a word. The second time I had better luck: he that sat opposite to me, finding the spirit move him, on a sudden rose, turned towards the assembly, and after long blowing his breath on my face, spoke for about half an hour; all his expressions were interrupted by new puffing and blowing, with his eyes shut, and his hands in his sleeves; he had the air and tone of a man that walks in his sleep*. After about a quarter of an

* He put me in mind of sister Margaret, whom I had heard preach at Paris in the same tone, at an assembly of Convulsionaries, in which one abbe Coutu sat as president.

hour's silence, he again resumed the thread of his discourse; I was informed, at quitting the assembly, that his subject was the keeping holy the Sabbath-day, and that it was made up of the most low and trivial common-place stuff.

At another meeting, where were a great number of foreigners of all countries, an old Quaker took for the subject of his discourse, 1. The inutility and vanity of all modes of worship invented by men to do honour to the Divinity. 2. The excellence of adoration in spirit and truth, which Jesus Christ came to bring upon earth.

I heard no women preach: the beauty of most of the sex, set off by English neatness, is farther heightened by the simplicity of their dress; their linen, their robes, their hats, are all plain, without any sort of ornament: this does not prevent such as are rich (and almost all of them are so) from wearing the finest linen, and being very particular in the choice of their stuffs, which are, however, of modest colours. The first time that I went to one of their meetings, within the precincts of Westminster-abbey, being perplexed with a very puzzling direction that had been given me, I shewed it to a woman whom I happened to meet in my way to Charing-cross; she read it, and by signs intimated to me that she was going thither herself: I offered her my arm, she accepted it, and we arrived at the meeting, where she took her place, and shewed me where I might be seated.

I had been told that the Quakers wore no buttons to their coats or their hats; but I saw several of them with that ornament; I observed, however, that those whom I heard preach, and who, in all probability, are the leaders of the sect, in that article observed all the rigour of the primitive institution: the privation

of that ornament is, doubtless, a point of strict duty.

They retain all the aversion with which they were inspired by the first founders of the sect, from the effusion of human blood. In consequence of this antipathy to bloodshed, they for a long time refused to contribute in Pennsylvania to the levies of men and money in the last war, for the defence of that colony: they have even obtained an exemption from the national militia established in England. It was, notwithstanding, a Briton of that sect*, who formed, in 1758, the project of reducing the French settlements in Senegal; it is true the expedition, directed by the Quaker, was executed, according to his plan, without any effusion of blood.

With regard to probity, and all the social virtues upon which their religion is founded, the Quakers have always kept up to their first reputation. Their number is, notwithstanding, every day upon the decrease: many causes contribute to this, 1. Their children forsake a religion which incapacitates them for all places and public employments. 2. The same reason prevents them from making proselytes. 3. The toleration shewn them, prevents them from having that obstinacy, which, amongst sectaries, is the usual effect of persecution. 4. In fine, of all the religions invented by men, Quakerism is the only one which has, both in theory and practice, excluded the spirit of domineering. If that sect still continues to subsist, it must be, (as may be concluded from the pleasantry which is to terminate this article) for the reason on which Pope Sixtus the Vth founded his prediction of the impending ruin of a

* Mr. Thomas Cumming. T.

feet, that had taken for its basis the most rigorous continence *.

The Quakers have neither pictures nor images at their meetings. They, however, have in their houses, certain prints, relative to the objects of their devotion. Happening to be stopt in a remote part of London by a heavy shower, I entered the first porch I saw, where a man, opening a door, invited me to enter his chamber: this person was a Quaker; the chamber was adorned with a large print, which appeared to be lately engraved, and discovered great elegance: it represented a large oak; in the midst of its leaves was seen the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, devils sawed the tree at the root, all the north-winds let loose at once beat upon its summit, and savage beasts seemed to wait the fall of the tree, in order to devour the dove. The owner told me, that this allegory represented the state of the soul in this life.

If this sect does not fall of itself, and perish by an imperceptible decay, sooner or later some hypocrite, availing himself of the general prepossession in favour of the Quakers, will, by some flagrant act of dishonesty, make that sect forfeit its only claim to the public esteem.

The Quakers have hitherto had but one man of learning † amongst them; this was a school-master, who having, by his own industry, made himself master of the Oriental languages, has lately published a translation of the Bible from the original Hebrew, with a commentary, which abounds with observations curious and new: I heard this judgement passed upon it by divines of the church of England, who were

* *Non si chiava in questa religione*, said the pope, *non durerà*. Confession of Sancy. l. 2. c. v.

† M. Grosley has doubtless forgot Robert Barclay; the person he means here is Mr. Purver. T.

very capable of forming a right estimate of its merit.

This sect, at its origin, had learned votaries, for I think I can discover its origin in those Prophetantes, who, "about the middle of the last century repaired from all parts of Holland, and assembled on the first Sunday of every month at Warmont, in the neighbourhood of Leyden, where they passed that whole day in reading the scripture, proposing their difficulties, and using the liberty of prophesying, that is to say, the exercise of reason, as far as it is allowed by the gospel." But they are, adds Sorbiere, a society of very worthy persons, most of whom understand both the Greek and Hebrew. They differ from the Remonstrants only in observing a more strict discipline with regard to war, which they totally proscribe and condemn*. Sorbiere had visited Holland in 1642.

The Quakers are the subject of frequent raillery, both in conversation and writing; this makes but little impression upon them. When I was leaving London, a piece of humour, levelled at their sect, and just then published, was put into my hand: it was a printed sheet, adorned with a wooden cut, representing their meeting-house at Westminster; and contained a sermon, said to be preached by a Quaker, upon an indecent adventure, which the writer supposes to have happened to one of the most zealous of the brethren. This sermon I looked upon as a specimen of English humour, and a proof of the charity of the English to those of every persuasion differing from their own.

* Sorberiana.

MORAVIANS*.

I was indebted to chance for a discovery of the Moravians, and the place where they hold their assemblies; a place fitted up by the count of Zinzen-dorf, founder of that sect. I often took an airing to Chelsea, a delightful place, greatly frequented in the summer on account of its situation on the Thames, and a considerable number of handsome buildings. As I was walking one day through this village, I was joined by a man who had the appearance of a creditable tradesman; he asked me in French where I was going, offered me his services, and accompanied me to sir Richard Glyn's garden. In our way thither, he enquired of me about several Parisians; I knew many of them, and had it in my power to satisfy his curiosity. During the course of this conversation, we passed by a house which made a very elegant appearance: my conductor asked me, whether I knew this house, and if I had a fancy to see the inside of it? I answered him in the affirmative. I live here, said he; and you shall see it when we come back: accordingly, at our return, he rung the bell, when a servant opened the door to him with the utmost respect, and he introduced me into a handsome hall, which led to a very large stair-case; the wainscot of that stair-case was covered with paintings, the oddity of which engaged my attention. Here stood a Negro, dressed in a white shirt, which fell down to his feet; there was represented a storm, with a shipwreck, and a man saving himself upon a rock, expecting relief from a distant boat; in another piece was the figure of a man preaching to poor slaves in Africa, who were infected with the plague. After I

* See Remarks on this Article in the Appendix to Vol. II. T.
had

had gazed some time at these pictures, we arrived at the apartment of the first story, consisting of a sweep of seven chambers, all wainscoted, lighted with large windows, and neatly furnished. I had been informed that this house had been built and furnished by the count Zinzendorf, of pious memory, to serve as a meeting-house to the Moravian brethren, a society founded by that nobleman: he shewed me the apartment which had been occupied by the religious founder, this was on the third floor; over the chimney of one of the rooms on the first floor was the picture of an ancient duke of Saxony, from whom count Zinzendorff's lady was said to be descended.

On the third floor I found one half of it occupied by a large chamber, which had a harpsichord with some benches and stools, and a table covered with a red cloth; over this table a piece of the same sort of cloth, which hung from the cieling, formed a kind of canopy; all the pannels of the wainscot were covered with names painted in red letters, "These, said the person who introduced me, are the names of the children of God most known since the creation of the world." The first of these names were in gold, embrowned, and, as it were, smoked, a distinction relative, no doubt, to the way of thinking of the Moravians with regard to the Old Testament: the next pannels presented to my view the names of the most eminent persons of the Greek and Latin churches; St. Bernard, Peter de Blois, and John of Salisbury, make a figure amongst those of the middle age; amongst the moderns I read those of Mademoiselle Schuman, Madame de Chantal, M. de Fenelon, Madame Darnican, wife to the attorney general of the parliament of Rennes in Bretagne, lastly, that of cardinal de Noailles, for whom M. de Zinzendorf had a great esteem,

esteem, so as to take the liberty of writing to him, in 1720, concerning his change of style in the affair of the constitution : no Jesuit makes a figure amongst *these children of God.*

The extremity of this apartment presents to the view two doors, over one of which is written, *Al-leluia*, and over the other, *Miserere mei, Deus*; this, as I was told, comprised the sentiments of the Christian in every act of life, which should at once be an object of fear and thanksgiving.

We passed from thence upon a terras, which was the whole length of the house; the lead with which it was covered cost 1200 guineas, for the materials and the workmanship; from thence we had one of the most beautiful, most varied, and most extensive prospects in England. At the back of this house is a church-yard and a pretty large chapel.

This building seems to be a house of probation, or place of retreat. The Moravians have a meeting-house in London, near Fetter-lane, where I assisted at their service; it is intermixed with canticles, the music of which is very agreeable; both the canticles and the psalmody are accompanied by the organ, after the German manner. M. de Zinzendorf justly thought that he might thus enliven an exercise which he considered as a fore-taste of that eternal employment of the children of God. In the middle of the service a preacher ascended the pulpit: of all the men I had ever heard speak in public in London, either in the pulpit or in the two houses of parliament, this Moravian minister is the only person that appeared to me to have the tone, the gestures, and the action of an orator; I was assured that the excellence of the discourse was answerable to that of the manner in which it was delivered.

shall

I shall now lay before the reader the best account I could get concerning the tenets and rites of this sect.

They consider the Old Testament only as a pious, edifying, and allegorical history; in a word, as a shade which gives a new lustre to the brilliant day of the gospel.

The religion of the church of England, and that of all the Christian communions which acknowledge the gospel, are equal in their eyes: God, say they, has in all these communions children whom he knows; to love God and to love their brethren, is the characteristic of the children of God, a characteristic independent of all theological systems.

They look upon baptism as an article essentially necessary. With regard to the holy sacrament, I could not discover that they think like Catholics, Lutherans, or Calvinists. They assemble to communicate: the Eucharist is distributed to all present; at a certain signal they all communicate at the same instant, and then, as I have been told, they are to such a degree inflamed, so absorbed and wrapt in the Deity, that, full of the effect of this ineffable mystery, they never think of examining in what manner it operates.

These raptures, this communication with God, &c. made an article of the religion invented by the latter Platonic philosophers: "I have been so happy," said Porphyry, one of that sect, in the life of Plato, "as to approach the Deity, and unite myself to him." "This union, adds he, was the sole object of the desire of Plato; he four times had the happiness of this enjoyment whilst I lived with him; what passes at that time within us is ineffable."

The chief object of the external worship of these enthusiasts is the wound which our Saviour received in

in his side upon the cross : the figure of this wound contributes, in some measure, to the scandalous imputations laid to their charge, of which I shall hereafter give the reader an account. This object of worship seems, at the same time, to bear a strong resemblance and even to be confounded with the *devotion to the sacred heart*, invented in France by Mary Alacoque, countenanced by the Jesuits, celebrated by the bishops who were most devoted to that cause, consecrated by the famous life of its institutress, an account of which monsieur Languet has given the public, and finally established as a party distinction by the uncommunicating clergy.

Marriage, amongst the Moravians, is a sacrament, as I have been told, almost as ineffable as the Eucharist ; they never contract it without advising with the principal personages of their sect : without this advice, the inclination of the contracting parties is looked upon as a snare of Satan. Now one would presume, that it is determined only by the most compleat knowledge of the character of the parties, and that the same integrity and purity of intention have place on this occasion, as are used by fathers of families in affairs of this nature. The views of young Moravians called to the marriage-state are not less pure ; they look upon conjugal duty as the most important function of rational creatures, either in the order of nature, or in that of religion. Who would not be of the same way of thinking, said my conductor, with the air of a man most deeply affected, if he reflects that he is upon the point of giving existence to a man, who will either be an honour and consolation, or the disgrace and shame of his family, of society, and of religion ? With regard to myself, said he, I received a wife from the hands of count Zinzendorf

as I would have taken one from God himself : I knew nothing of her person, her fortune, her family, or the country where she was born, and in which she lived : God has given his benediction to our union ; and in this state I have already found, and find every day, an anticipated paradise.

The Moravians are said to live in common, like the first faithful of Jerusalem. They bring into a general heap all they earn, and take out of it only what is absolutely necessary for their private use. They are very good artificers : they work, they save money, in order to have the pleasure of making charitable donations by the hands of the chief directors; and their benevolence is not confined to their own sect. Such of them as are opulent or in easy circumstances, and above the class of working people, bring into the common collection, not the whole of their substance, but very considerable alms.

Missions are the greatest object of the common expence : those to Africa furnished the subject of some of the pictures which I had seen upon the stair-cafe. Count Zinzendorf considered missions as the most important articles of his apostleship ; he had made two voyages to America. To mix something miraculous with those expeditions, I have been informed, that in a conversation with the earl of Chesterfield, he assured that nobleman, upon his honour, and by his Maker, that he had made the passage from Plymouth Boston in seven days. Their African missions are likewise said to be accompanied by miracles.

The community of goods established amongst the Moravians, and the extraordinary principles which they have adopted with regard to marriage, have occasioned people to charge them with practising in their assemblies the *vagus concubitus*, of which certain grave authors

authors have accused most of the heretics, ancient as well as modern * : the primitive Christians were themselves suspected of it by the Pagans† ; but the impu-

* The heretics of the twelfth century, known by the appellations of Patarins, Vaudois, Albigeois, &c. were generally accused of this infamous practice, though all their external conduct discovered the most zealous attachment to purity. I find, in this respect, a very remarkable fact mentioned by father Picart, in his notes upon the twelfth chapter of William of Newbury's history, taken from the manuscript of Raoul, monk of Clogher in Ireland. I shall here cite the passage, by way of extract, in the very words of the Irish monk.

Cum dominus Gulielmus (William of Champagne) Remorum urbis archiepiscopus, cum clericis suis, spatiandi gratiâ, obequitaret, quidam ex dictis clericis, scilicet magister Tilleberiensis, videns quandam pueram in vineis solam deambulantem, lubricæ juventutis curiositate ductus divertit ad eam, sicut ab ore ejus didicimus postea, cum canonicus esset. Quam salutans, et unde et cuius esset filia, et quidnam ibi sola faceret, diligenter inquirens, cum ejus pulchritudinem diutius attendisset, hanc tandem de amore lascivo curialiter offatur. Cui illa simplici et quâdam verborum gravitate respondit, vix juvenem respicere volens: Numquid velit Deus, ô bone adolescens, ut tua amica sine alicuius hominis existam; quia si virginitatem amissem, et caro mea semel corrupta esset, æternum damnationi proculdubio subjacerem. Quod audiens Magnus Gervasius, intellexit subito hanc esse de impurissimâ illâ sectâ publicanorum (sic dicti a populando) qui tum ubique exquirebantur et perimebantur.—Dum itaque dictus clericus cum puellâ de tali responso confutando altercaretur, supervenit archiepiscopus cum suis, qui controversiae causam agnoscens, jussit pueram comprehendendi et secum in urbem adduci. Quam coram clericis alloquens et plures auctoritates ac rationum argumenta proponens, respondit illa, se nequaquam satis fuisse instruam ut tantas objectiones posset refellere, sed habere se quandam magistrâm in urbe, quæ facile omnes objectiones refelleret. Illâ etiam comprehensa—cum utrarumque mentes obstinatæ, nec minis nec blanditiis nec allegationibus nec scripturarum auctoritate, ab erroribus revocari possent—communi consilio decretum est ut flammis concremarentur; et jam igne accenso, cum jam ad pœnam trahi deberent, ait erroris magistra: Insensati et judices injusti! creditisne quod me a vestro igne eremabitis?—Et hæc dicens concitè glomum filii extrahit, et extra quandam magnam fenestram proiecit, capite filii in manibus retento, & voce sonorâ dixit: Recipe. Ad quod verbum mox a terris elevata, glomum agili volatu, cunctis aspicientibus, extra fenestram subsecuta est.—Puella autem cum remansisset—igne consumpta est, non sine admiratione multorum, cum nulla suspiria, nulos fletus, nullum planetum emitteret—sed omne flagrantis incendii tormentum constanter et alacriter perferret—Sic isti virginitatem prædicant, in oportunitate turpitudinis, &c. &c. This passage requires no commentary.

† The Jews fell under the same suspicion. Projectissimi ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu absinent: inter se nihil illicitum. Tacit. l. v. initio.

tations of jealousy, hatred, and above all the hatred of divines, never amounted to a proof; besides, is it natural that a man, however corrupt he may be supposed, should give himself up to licentiousness and debauchery through a principle of religion?

Universal benevolence to all mankind is one of the first principles of the Moravian brethren. Hence it is that, my conductor talked to me concerning the affair of the unfortunate Calas with the tenderest emotion imaginable: he afterwards spoke in the same strain concerning the banishment of the Jesuits from France; "they are men, said he, they suffer, we pray to God to relieve, and to preserve them from all unjust oppression."

After having shewn me the whole house, he led me into an apartment remarkable for its elegant simplicity; the farther room was occupied by a tall woman of an engaging mien, who, as soon as ever she saw me, rose and saluted me in French. "Here, said my conductor, is the angel given to me by count Zinzendorf. She seemed to be of the same age with her husband, and was born at Neufchatel in Switzerland. With the air and the deportment of a person of solidity, she asked me about the news at Paris, and answered all the questions I proposed to her concerning the Moravians. During our conversation, her husband got us some wine; we drank to each other's good health, and to all our friends; and I promised to pay them another visit before I left London. As I was going away, a coach stopped at the door, and there alighted from it a lady as respectable for her age as her deportment: it was the countess of H—, one of the first women of quality in England; she came to edify in the company of the husband and wife, whom I was just leaving.

It

It is unnecessary to inform the reader that these disciples place count Zinzendorf in the first class of the children of God. I have seen the portrait of this apostle: he is represented with a great leather cap, which covers his ears; and his countenance has a mixture of zeal and authority, becoming the founder of a sect.

The English in general have but little esteem for the Moravians; they look upon them as dupes to their chiefs, who abuse religion to acquire over them that empire, as absolute as lucrative, which the Jesuits found means to establish over the Americans of Paraguay.

Their sect also took the name of Herrenhutters, from the little town of Herrenhut, in Upper Lusatia, all the inhabitants of which were won over to that persuasion by count Zinzendorf. In this manner Plato saw his republic realized in a town, the police of which he regulated, according to his own principles; but human passions, which it had been his aim to destroy, soon resumed their first ascendant. They will, doubtless, do the same in the town of Herrenhut. The church of Jerusalem, though directed by the apostles, and harassed by persecutions, soon relaxed the rigid principles upon which it had been founded by St. Peter.

The Moravians have some considerable establishments in Holland. The young girls who are brought together by these institutions, though they work in common under the inspection of their superiors and the public, occasion much talk. One of these houses had for its chief a French adventurer, named James le Long, whose knaveries, for which he was expelled the Moravian church, did not in the least contribute to raise its reputation.

It has some odd principles, which can be only surmised from the perplexed and enigmatical manner in which the adepts of the sect explain themselves. They, doubtless, make a mystery of them to the bulk of their communion; many forsake them, either of their own accord, or because they are dismissed the very moment that they prove wanting to the first virtue of the Moravians, which their chiefs maintain to consist in an implicit submission to their orders, their advice, and even their least signs.

M E T H O D I S T S.

The same spirit prevails in the sect of the Methodists: its origin is recent, and its founder, Mr. Whitfield, is very lately dead. This establishment has borne all the persecutions that it could possibly apprehend in a country as much disposed to persecution as England is the reverse. It was not indeed first formed in a covert way, or in obscurity: Mr. Whitfield had chosen some public situations in and about London for the scene of his preaching; the aim of which was, the reformation of manners and the restoration of the dogma of grace, enervated and disfigured by Arminianism, which has imperceptibly crept into the church of England. The ministers of the established religion did their utmost to baffle the new preacher: they preached against him, represented him to the people as a fanatic, a visionary, &c. &c. in fine, they opposed him with so much success, that they caused him to be pelted with stones in every place where he opened his mouth to the public. He persevered notwithstanding, and made proselytes; the number of these, and the constancy of their chief, dazzled the eyes of the populace; the indignation which they had been inspired with,

gave way to curiosity ; and Mr. Whitfield at last succeeded so far as to preach undisturbed in Moorfields, a large open place near the city, the extent of which was scarcely more than sufficient to hold the prodigious concourse of auditors who crowded to his sermons.

Having associated to himself assistants, he formed a church, where we find all the fervor of devotion which generally characterises new sects. The members of this church have caused a place of worship to be erected, by the name of the tabernacle, in the neighbourhood of Moorfields, where the society took birth* ; and another, of late years, in Tottenham-court-road.

Its liturgy is that of the church of England, interlarded with certain hymns, composed to airs agreeable enough, by Mr. Whitfield, poet to the new church : by means of these hymns, the service is of a length proportioned to the fervor of the congregation.

The Methodist church consists almost wholly of tradesmen, and people of the lower sort : nothing can be more edifying than their behaviour, their singing, and their attention to the sermon. This attention is kept up, and, as it were, warmed by the frequent sighs which issue every moment from the several parts of the tabernacle, and which echo to each other.

At one of these services chance placed me next to the young man who, in my first rambling through London, was so kind as do me the office of guide the

* This situation is in one of the pleasantest parts of London. The Methodists prefer to lodge in the new houses built near their tabernacle. Thus while the French fanatics, called the Convulsioners, think and talk of nothing else but the approaching ruin of Paris, the Methodists act more sensibly, by contributing to the increase and improvement of London.

whole length of Oxford-road: he continued to behave to me with the same politeness, and procured me a book of hymns; he appeared to be one of the most devout in the whole assembly. If this politeness has its source in the doctrines of the new church, the nation must be the better for its spreading.

The preacher, who had a clergyman's gown on, with black gloves, and a white handkerchief, preached with continued sighs and groans, and all the air and tone of a fanatic. His discourse was interrupted by exclamations oh! oh! which were repeated every instant, I thought it was Mr. Whitfield himself; but I was given to understand that he was then in America, labouring in the vineyard of the Lord, and that the preacher whom I then heard was one of his first American proselytes; this was Mr. Whitfield's third voyage.

Hell is the favourite topic of the Methodist preachers, who, as we are told, contribute thereby to people Bedlam. They likewise insist greatly upon the spirit and faith, which, according to them, is alone sufficient to justification and eternal salvation.

To the tabernacle, as I have already observed, is joined a church-yard, in which the dead have epitaphs in the ancient taste, that is to say, of the greatest simplicity imaginable. Some principal persons of the sect are buried in the tabernacle itself, with epitaphs, which contain elogiums more extensive.

While service is performing, many of the women sit promiscuously among the men, just as they do at the parish churches. The leading ministers of this sect are said to be very opulent. The Methodists, as well as Moravians, deposit in the hands of their chiefs a part of their daily gains, reserving to themselves only

only what is absolutely necessary for their subsistence ; and the fund arising from these sums thus deposited by the community, supplies alms for the poor, money to build churches, to pay the salaries of their clergy, and to defray the expence of missions. Such was the primitive destination of tythes and of all sorts of ecclesiastical possessions, administered at their first origin by persons, who, entertaining too good an opinion of human nature, have led their successors into a temptation to which they must inevitably yield.

This method of living in common was the first law which the primitive faithful of Jerusalem enjoined themselves ; but whether it was owing to the details of œconomy being below souls so sublime as those of the apostles, or to some more Judas's having got among the directors appointed to superintend the new administration, the church of Jerusalem was soon reduced to depend upon the charity of those churches which had not adopted the custom of having all things in common *.

Upon a view of the sects established in England, Sorbiere said, in 1663, " Why should we French be surprized at the infatuation which first formed and still keeps them up ? we have a long time wrangled and disputed upon nothing ; namely, whether five propositions are to be found in a book or not ? and this dispute sufficiently evinces that we are not ourselves free from extravagance, ambition, and obstinacy †."

* Acts Apost. c. iv. vi. xii. &c.

† Voyage to England, p. 60.

FREETHINKERS.

Catholics, Church of England men, Puritans, Moravians, Methodists, &c. all make one common cause against a sect which every day gains ground; I mean Freethinking, whose source has been thus traced by the great Bossuet. "The minds of men, thrown into a violent agitation, and falling from one precipice to another, have split into a multiplicity of sects, in the midst of which many persons, wearied out with such a multitude of absurd chimeras, and no longer able to discover any majesty in a religion thus torn to pieces, seek for rest in a perfect indifference to all persuasions."

Atheism was a word of a vague and indeterminate signification, before the Sorbonne had classed the Atheists, Theists, Deists, &c.* As for downright Atheists, if ever there were any such, we should look for them among the Mahomets, the Hildebrands, the Guises, the Cromwells, and amongst those men of all ages and countries, who, making a jest of God, and of the notion of the Deity imprinted upon the hearts of men, have abused it, in order to raise their fortune, and to lay the foundation of a greatness generally cemented with the blood of their fellow-creatures.

The sacred names of God, religion, conscience, church, and public good, occasioned all the success of the most atrocious attempts of those men of blood. In the very moment that sentence of death was going to be pronounced against Charles the First, when the commissioners refused to hear him: he told them, "that he wished they had God before their

* These two last classes, are confounded in England with the Socinians, and known by the common name of Free-thinkers.

eyes."

eyes." "Yes, sir," answered Bradshaw, president of the high commission, and Cromwell's chief tool, "yes, sir, we have before our eyes God, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; God who excepts no man's person, God the avenger of innocent blood, God who pours down his curses upon those who spare the blood of criminals, which he has condemned: yes, sir, God and our consciences call us to this place, and to this august function; and it remains only for us to wish, as we do with all our hearts, that God would give you perfect contrition and repentance of your sins, and that he would be pleased to shew his mercy at least to the best part of you; for with regard to the other part, sir, we find ourselves under a necessity of doing as the law directs *."

These commissioners passed the Sunday after their first sitting, in fasting and prayer, and hearing a sermon in the chapel of Whitehall, from nine o'clock in the morning, till four in the afternoon; and they spent in the same devout exercises the whole Sunday which preceded the pronouncing of judgement.

I have already mentioned the sermon preached by Cromwell himself, upon the text of St. Paul: *Omnis anima potestatis sublimioribus subiecta sit.*

The Freethinkers have given a new extent to the spirit of toleration, to which the political atheist is a declared enemy. This spirit, which was the chief foundation of the grandeur of the Romans, is at present the source of that of Holland and England. From these two countries arose its first apostles †. To this spirit the Roman Catholics are in-

* Summary of the trial of Charles the First, printed at Paris in 1650, in quarto, p. 38, 44, and 77.

† Herbert, baron of Cherbury, was one of these first apostles, See his works, intituled, *De veritate & de causis errorum.*

debted for the peace and quietness which they enjoy under both these governments. In the main, every Roman Catholic, whether English or Dutch, looking upon all his countrymen who are out of the pale of the church, as damned, should wish them rather to damn themselves as Freethinkers without joining any persecuting sect, than as unadmitting sectaries. In fine, free-thinking is, in a free state, an asylum open to those who, in other countries, are obliged to have recourse to the mask of hypocrisy : now this free-thinking has, perhaps, consequences less dangerous than hypocrisy, with regard to public morals.

Those who in England are supported by the wealth of the church, not having it decently in their power to be deists in an absolute sense, are so in certain respects. Socinus, as I have already observed, has a great many followers, both amongst the clergy of the church of England and the Puritans. Cardinal du Perron used to say, “ In England they were very much embarrassed to convince an Arrian of his errors by passages out of scripture : he put them all to a nonplus, and they could not succeed in converting him ; so they ordered him to be burned alive. We cannot, added the cardinal, confute an Arrian by scripture : that is to be done only by the authority of the church. Calvinism, said the same cardinal, will at last degenerate into Mahometanism. From Luther came Calvin, and from Calvin the new Arians, who endeavour to reconcile Christianity with Mahometism ; and it is much to be feared, that one day the northern countries of Poland, Sweden, Denmark, &c. will renounce the Christian religion *.”

* Peronniana, at the words Arius and Socinus.

Cardinal du Perron went beyond the mark, if he understood any thing else by Mahometanism, besides a religion in which Christ should be looked upon only in the same light as Mahomet is at present by the Musulmen. He likewise forgot or neglected to reckon Arminianism amongst the steps which have led to Socinianism : Arminius, reducing the necessity of a mediator by weakening original sin, has opened to the Protestants the road traced out by Molina to Harduin, to Berruyer, &c,

The Socinians, the Deists, &c. enjoy every sort of liberty in London, that of the press not excepted. The case was very different at the beginning of the last century : James I. forbid, under the severest penalties, the bringing over Vanini's works to England ; and the clergy, entering into the views of the sovereign, composed a prayer of the liturgy, which still makes a part of it ; they pray to God to preserve England from the infection of irreligion.

J E W S.

The Jews consider the Deists and Socinians only as men who make an approach to the kingdom of heaven, by drawing forwards to the exclusive adoration of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This was a speech which I heard from a Jew, whom I happened to sit near at the synagogue, which that opulent nation has in the eastern part of London.

The Jews who assemble here are Portugueze and Spaniards : they behave with all the pride of Spaniards to the German Jews, whom they look upon as vile remains of the tribe of Benjamin. With regard to themselves, they affirm that they are descended from the tribes which Nebuchadnezzar had

transplanted

planted to the banks of the Euphrates: the Arabian califs, becoming masters of Asia, extended their conquest by degrees to Spain, where several Jewish families came to establish houses of commerce, and where they have multiplied to such a degree, that, if we may believe them, all the families, both in Spain and Portugal, most distinguished for noble birth or opulence, are of Jewish extraction*.

These Jewish families, since the establishment of the inquisition, found means to compromise matters with it. For money and external conformity to the Christian religion, the inquisitors winked at them: they vented their rage only against those fanatics who were obstinately bent upon getting themselves burnt. Tired of such a state of constraint, disgusted with the contempt which accompanied it, and allured by the tolerating spirit of the English, the Spanish and Portugese Jews crossed the seas in great numbers, with immense wealth. A descendant of Jacob assured me, that the number of those who had taken this course, from the year 1720 to 1740, might be computed at twenty thousand.

The great consideration in which they are held, has emboldened them to claim naturalization in a body: they obtained it in 1752; but the year following the bill was repealed. The two last parliaments were entirely taken up with this affair. The matter had been in agitation ever since the year 1715, in which Toland published a work, intituled, *Reasons*

* The Spaniards and Portugese warmly defend themselves from this imputation: they rather chuse, contrary to all probability, to represent themselves as descended from Visigoth or Arian soldiers, than acknowledge the third or fourth of their forefathers, by whom they are connected with that race, which is doubtless the most ancient, and of consequence the noblest in the world.

for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland. The author had promised to annex to it a translation of a treatise written in Italian in the last century, by a learned Rabbi, named Simon Luzzarato, which was presented to the senate of Venice, in order to render them favourable to the Jews: a treatise filled with anecdotes and particulars, as curious as interesting, concerning the state of the Jewish nation.

Astonished at not finding at the English synagogue neither those periodical agitations with which the German Jews accompany their prayers, nor the handkerchiefs with which they muffle themselves up whilst at their devotions, nor the cries of the rabbies, which the congregation answers by loud noises that have caused the name of Sabbath to be given to the assemblies of sorcerers: I expressed my surprize to the Jew who had undertaken to be my instructor. He said to me, "Light increases amongst us imperceptibly: we no longer confound Moses with Ezechias and Esdras; we owe to God adoration, gratitude, and confidence, and love we owe to our neighbour; the time will come in which all nations shall join in these sentiments." "Why then do you continue to make a separate body?" said I. "Why do you not embrace the established religion?" "It is unnecessary for us," answered he, "to go to those who are advancing apace towards us, and who will soon come up to us; besides, in such a change, every individual exposes himself to the contempt both of those who profess the religion which he forsakes, and of the followers of that which he embraces." I then asked him, what was their way of thinking with regard to the Mef-siah, whether they still waited for his coming? and whether upon his arrival at Jerusalem, all the Jews whom I then saw would quit England, their houses,

houses, their commerce, their wives and their children, to go over to Syria, and join him." "They will wait till the report of his coming is confirmed; till then people of sense will let those who have nothing to lose, run after him as fast as they think proper."

The famous Huetius, upon his return from Sweden, met at Amsterdam with a good sort of a Jew, Rabbi Manasse-Ben-Israel, of the family of the Abarbanels, who was descended, or pretended to be descended, in a right line from king David*.

The psalmody of the English synagogue surprized me, by the sweetnes as well as the agreeable simplicity of its modulation. My astonishment was caused by a comparisom of this symphony with the vociferation of the German synagogues, and even with the church music which I had heard in England. "Our symphony, said my Jewish friend, is that which our ancestors carried to Babylon, that is to say, that which was used in Jerusalem during the most brilliant period of our nation. You know, added he, how little those happy climates are subject to the variations of modes. If our music has undergone some change, and received improvement, it was in those brilliant ages when sciences and arts, seated upon the throne of the Califs, enlightened an empire in which our nation was respected for its wealth, and supported by the labours of a number of eminent writers. Our ancestors introduced this symphony into Spain; they retained it as something sacred, and it is the same which you now hear."

* *Miki profecto videbatur acutè quidem respondere, sed candidè, nec longe abesse a veritatis notitiâ: si quidem moderatè cum eo, et ratione actum esset; non, ut fieri solet cum hac gente, contumeliose & præfractè.*
Huet comm. de rebus suis, l. iii. p. 133.

These Portuguese and Spanish Jews, whilst they retain the most noted names belonging to those two kingdoms, as Pinto, Acosta, &c. &c. have likewise preserved for Spain, their ancient country, all the sentiments of affection which men of worth have for the places of their nativity, where they still have their families and relations; differing in this respect at least with regard to their manner of talking in public from the French refugees.

The Jews, whilst they continue attached to England, flatter themselves, no doubt, that they will never see those bloody scenes renewed of which their nation was the object, and England the theatre, in the reign of Richard I. scenes of which we find a circumstantial description in the writings of Matthew Paris and William of Newbury. The general indignation of the English against that nation appeared not so much to be excited by motives of religion and national jealousy, as of resentment and vengeance. Henry the second, the greatest and most absolute monarch that ever reigned in England, had passed his life in constant wars. Though war was not then carried on so much with money as with men, it gave occasion to expences, which could not be borne without harrassing the people with exactions. Now as the Jews, (in whose hands all the money affairs of Europe were then deposited, who were likewise usurers by profession*,) had been the farmers of Henry II. and the support of his power; they were held of course in all the esteem which such important services deserved.

* *Antiquum retinentes adversus omnes extraneos hostile odium.* Tacit.
Hist. l. v.

At the death of Henry II. his successor Richard, raising money by all the means he could think of for his expedition to the Holy Land, saw no possibility of supplying his wants except by the Jews and the clergy. Scarce were his views surmised with regard to the former, when the public indignation, which had been stifled a long time, set up a general outcry. The populace indulging every emotion of resentment, hurried on all sides to sacrifice the Jews for the outrages which they had sustained from their insolence and rapaciousness.

In the following centuries the incapacity of the English for commerce had caused the Jews to be recalled to England, from whence they were banished in the fourteenth century. In pursuance of the ancient prepossession against this nation, Shakespear has introduced in the comedy which is looked upon as his master-piece (the Merchant of Venice) a Jew, whose character unites all the qualities of covetousness, knavery, inhumanity, and the most execrable vices.

Since their being restored in England by Cromwell, the Jews dispersed through the different classes of commerce, share public offices with the other merchants, amongst whom they distinguish themselves by sentiments and punctuality in their dealings, from which those of their persuasion think themselves dispensed in countries where the name of a Jew is a mark of ignominy and reproach. Their wealth makes part of the capital of a nation, and they contribute to its splendor.

Thus they can excite envy only upon the same account as the English merchants : besides, envy is a passion which owes its birth to idleness : persons whose minds are entirely engrossed by their own affairs,

busy

busy themselves but very little with those of other people. The Jews at last, warned by the events in which they had been sufferers, left to the natives the whole profit of the finances, which in England is not always to be depended upon.

The vacancies which had been left in the kingdom by the several expulsions of the Jews, were filled with regard to the affairs of the bank and finances, by the Lombards, who swarmed in France about the same period.

England did not yield itself up a prey to the Lombard avidity without stipulating conditions, which partly favoured the national interest. The first of these obliged those foreigners neither to export gold nor silver upon pain of confiscation and considerable fines, but only such materials as were the natural growth of the country, or the product of its manufactures. Lord Bacon, whilst he relates this fact in his history of Henry the VIIth, adds that these conditions were violated by the Lombards, who had taken the advantage of the civil wars, which terminated at that prince's accession to the throne; and that the confiscations and fines occasioned by this infringement, enabled the king to replace the first subsidies which he had forgiven the nation.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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